The German Tribune

Hamburg, 16 May 1982
Twenty-first Year - No. 1036 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Stakes grow higher in Falklands dispute

Ever since the British government resolved to use the threat of force to restore rights wrested from it by force, a political shortcoming of the entire operation has been self-evident.

Sending an armada to the South Atlantic would boost morale at home and earn applause abroad, but bloodshed 8,000 miles away would be another matter.

It would promptly silence a number of jubilant voices and bring others to the fore. It would shake the foundations of British steadfastness and psychologically damage resolve both at home and abroad, including countries that had made gestures of solidarity.

This process is under way, and those who now feel like giving Britain a sign of encouragement might actually clash with the latest turn of British public opinion.

With decisions of such magnitude you need to have the luck of the draw. If it desert you, many will start to have their doubts.

This possibility was foreseen weeks ago in Washington, yet the Reagan administration nonetheless decided to back Britain if Secretary of State Haig's mediation bid were to fail, and to do so at a high price.

But it is now clear that decisive support of any kind was not envisaged and that the US government had no intention of ensuring the military victory of the British task force in some way or another.

In the duel between Britain and Argentina *the United States is playing* the part of a second, as it were.

Now that Argentina has let blood to show it is capable of taking up the challenge, making people sit up and think in Britain, the United States will make another attempt to persuade the two sides to come to terms, exerting greater pressure, indirectly if need be.

The aim of Western policy cannot be to humiliate Argentina in battle, just as some pundits have been wondering whether the attempt would do Britain much good militarily.

As in the days of Balkon disputes, the Falklands crisis is a spark that could set fire to a powder keg.

Cuba's offer of military support to Argentina clearly shows how international political alignments are being turned *turtle*. Caution and speed are called for.

But there is more than the danger of a single war at stake. Peace could be in jeopardy in another way. There are many countries in the world today that feel the North-South conflict is more important for the destiny of mankind than the East-West conflict.

This view alone is so widespread that it must be regarded as a reality, and given this reality the free West, which is also the North, has reason to fear the absurdity of the Falklands conflict.

The North-South conflict is such a *grim clash that any mistake the North* could make that might look like colonialism would from the outset weaken the North's position in the overriding dispute.

Britain's Falklands operations are sure to assume the guise of an old-style colonial conflict, especially if they are too slow to get off the ground and too lacking in success, as was the 1956 suez campaign.



Visitors from Italy

Italian Premier Giovanni Spadolini (extreme right) and Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo (second from left) with Chancellor Schmidt and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Hamburg. The two Italians also visited Berlin. (Photo: dpa)

That is how they will be seen by all who *prefer to take this view,* and other *arguments will no longer be accepted.* They will go down in history as a major upset in the ongoing age of decolonisation and cost us dearly.

The British government was well aware of these circumstances. Its determination to uphold a principle of utmost importance to Germans too is one side of the affair. The other is the extent to which Britain's aims can be achieved.

Unless the task force succeeds in doing something convincing in the next *few days, preferably without bloodshed, domestic doubts will start to weaken* Whitehall's position.

This naturally encourages Argentina to play for time. How, for that matter, can mediation be expected to succeed when to start with the entire West is determined not to let the Argentine military off scot-free for being too cocksure?

The Buenos Aires junta may feel they have borne a burden alone, being left to their own devices to combat terrorism, but there is no excuse for their breach of the peace.

Detailed discussion will need to go into where Britain went wrong, including tempting Argentina to send in the troops and help itself to the Falklands.

One lesson, however, can already be learnt. When it comes to the threat of counter-violence Europe a quarter-century after Suez is still far from harmonising action and attitudes.

This shortcoming would seem to recommend caution even in cases when it is right to threaten counter-violence, as in the present instance, and certainly when viewed in terms of *Realpolitik*, quite apart from other considerations.

The relationship between the gravity of the offence, in this case *territorial* changes by use of force, and its possible repercussions must be examined in a world context.

This is easier said than done, especially in Germany, which is duty bound to set greatest store by loyalty to *principles.*

Britain must at least be able to rest assured that in its laborious progress towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict it can count on the agreement of the Germans.

Robert Held

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 May 1982)

IN THIS ISSUE

The next edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 30 May.

Washington, Bonn: friendship out of the ruins of war

Two events dominated the German-American friendship week: Bonn President Karl Carstens' speech to the Übersee-Tag in Hamburg, and a report by *Bundestag MPs who had visited* Washington to brush up old friendships or forge new ones.

Between them the two accurately reflect the state of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States.

President Carstens recalled an essential few would care to doubt: that German-American friendship literally grew in the ruins of defeated post-war Germany.

Memories of how it arose form the basis of the positive view of America and Americans taken by an overwhelm*ing majority* of Germans.

But generations have since grown up that cannot remember the years of post-war reconstruction and recovery and thus take a more critical and less biased view of all aspects of German-American relations.

They differentiate accurately between *points naturally shared on both sides of* the Atlantic and considerations that testify to America's great power interests.

These are points on which the younger *generation are not prepared to* brush dubious aspects under the carpet of German-American friendship.

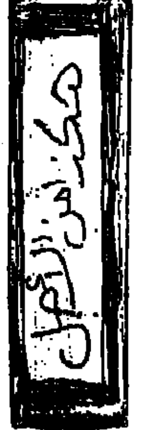
Many Americans seem unable at time to distinguish between such differences. Political America at least can be grotesquely sensitive to criticism of any kind, even when made in the friendliest manner.

This was the impression gained by three Bonn MPs keen to forge closer links with their counterparts on Capitol Hill. They returned from Washington deeply disappointed, having met with luck of interest, mistrust and even hostility.

The inference may be that America still has much to learn about tending ties of friendship and promoting tolerance. Should it fail to do so, cordial relations could be seriously upset in the long run.

Horst Opla

(Nordwest Zeitung, 8 May 1982)




■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Moscow changes mood, harder line against Bonn

A Soviet magazine has compared politicians in Bonn with the children who followed the Pied Piper of Hamelin. The difference was that Bonn had been lulled or bewitched into following Pied Piper Reagan rather than having done so out of credulity.

Bonn knew where the journey was headed yet at times even rushed on ahead of the man it knew was leading it to its doom.

Moscow has for weeks been working on a drastic change in tenor of the Kremlin's attitude towards Bonn, pushing the new line hard on the Soviet public.

It has come out in head-on criticism of Bonn's foreign and security policy. Individuals are no longer singled out for criticism, not even Foreign Minister Genscher, who used always to seem good for a jibe.

Now criticism is levelled at Chancellor Schmidt personally. Since the Munich party conference the Social Democrats also stand accused of ambiguity, contradictions and inconsistency.

The Chancellor is said to have made blunt and undignified attacks on Soviet policy at Munich and in subsequent interviews. *Pravda* says there is now a metallic ring in his voice whenever he mentions the Soviet Union.

Soviet correspondents refer to dubious manoeuvres and demagogic sleight-of-hand used to get the conference to endorse Bonn's missile modernisation policy.

Commentators in Moscow see this all as proof that Bonn is showing less and *less resistance to toeing the Reagan administration's line.*

Even worse, Bonn is said to have taken on the part of an active sidekick to the USA in its role of world policeman. This quote, lifted from a German newspaper, is repeated time and again.

The event that triggered Moscow's about-turn took place before the Munich SPD conference. It was the Wartime Host Nation Support Agreement between Bonn and Washington.

Signed in Bonn in mid-April, it went largely unnoticed by the German public, which was preoccupied with the Falklands crisis, the SPD conference and the Bonn Cabinet reshuffle.

But the Soviet Press has yet to set its mind at rest over the agreement, which provides in the event of war or crisis (undefined) for the four US divisions stationed in Germany to be increased to 10 and for an extra 1,000 combat planes in reinforcement.

As support for these reinforcements the Federal Republic has undertaken to make infrastructure arrangements and give 93,000 reservists special training.

For Moscow this treaty is a cardinal sin that suddenly made persistent mistrust of Chancellor Schmidt and his missile modernisation policy flare up.

Tass called it the most important document since Bonn joined Nato in 1955. Even among Soviet leaders it has evidently prompted emotional outbreaks the extent of which Bonn presumably fails to appreciate.

In commentaries historical reminiscences of Germany as a trouble spot are trundled out and coupled with strong words from Herr Schmidt that for *Pravda* called to mind the Adenauer era and what was called politics of strength.

Bonn is alleged to have swallowed the US world strategy hook, line and sinker and, by signing this particular agreement at this particular juncture, to have patently proved that it was gradually changing course.

Moscow is unable to do much politically. But it has sharply reduced its expectations about how much the Bonn coalition can do for detente.

As Moscow sees it, the treaty gives the United States an opportunity of staging a European crisis whenever it sees fit as a means of emphasising its policy of confrontation with and threat towards the East.

One possible reason or pretext for the suden airlifting of an extra six US divisions to Europe would, as Soviet sources put it, be US intervention in the Middle East or the Persian Gulf.

The agreement between Bonn and Washington was in the pipeline long before the Reagan administration took over. In Bonn's view, little has changed.

But Moscow sees the intentions and background behind it as typical of Mr Reagan. It is, the Kremlin says, a blow to years of MBFR troop cut talks in Vienna.

It is also seen as a slap in the face for the agreement reached in Helsinki to settle crises by political, not military means.

It is felt to have been undertaken in wanton disregard of the unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 men and 1,000 Soviet tanks from Central Europe.

The agreement puts paid to Bonn's past pledges to limit the peacetime strength of the Bundeswehr to 500,000 men. It also enables nearly 100,000 reservists to be mobilised to swell the Bundeswehr's ranks without there being military clashes in Europe.

That the Bundeswehr is suddenly trundled out as a problem again testifies with particular eloquence to the pent-up emotions behind the Soviet response.

The Soviet Union is still unable to see the slightest sign of change in US policy and now sees added uncertainty gathering on the Rhine, the significance and extent of which are still unpredictable.

Uwe Engelbrecht

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 6 May 1982)

Nato nerves on edge over Falklands crisis

European Nato Defence Ministers, in Brussels for their spring meeting, will have dealt mainly with an item not on their original agenda, the Falklands crisis.

Its threat to escalate militarily is causing alarm at Nato headquarters and in European capitals.

Quite apart from the political repercussions of an increasingly warlike clash on relations between Latin America and Europe, European Nato countries would prefer for strategic reasons not to give Britain backing for further military operations.

Britain's naval task force sent to the South Atlantic to defend a distant and not unduly important group of islands has weakened Nato's northern maritime flank considerably.

This is not satisfactory even though East-West tension may not be high at present.

The East-West balance of military power, as outlined in a report by Nato secretary-general Joseph Luns to the conference outlined European priorities and security problems that were more important than the South Atlantic even to Britain.

Even if comparisons of this kind must be taken with a pinch of salt because they are not always unimpassioned and impartial, there can be no doubt that in Europe the Soviet Union has an overwhelming superiority, in both conventional and nuclear potential.

Soviet SS-20 medium-range missiles continue to be deployed despite assurances by Mr Brezhnev that deployment has been brought to a halt.

These are military and security policy facts of life to which Europe must respond in one way or another.

The main item on the Brussels agenda was the December 1979 Nato resolution on negotiations with the Soviet Union or missile modernisation in Europe.

Conventional defensive systems would need to be strengthened even if arms limitations terms were negotiated in the nuclear sector.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 6 May 1982)

Keep alive idea of Europe as an entity, appeals Scheel

Awareness of Europe as an entity which included nations of the East bloc must be kept alive, said former President Walter Scheel in Vienna.

He told Austrian politicians and industrialists that people in that part of Europe that is not free expect that from the free European nations.

Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR might form part of the Soviet sphere of influence, but they were as much part of European cultural unity as Austria, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries.

Herr Scheel was critical that efforts to reunite Europe had fallen into stalemate.

He called for a "European decision and action centre", a sort of European government subject to Parliamentary controls.

At the meeting, attended by Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschläger, he said the call for a United States of Europe made by Winston Churchill was as topical as ever.

Unlike the Communist-controlled countries, countries in Western Europe were free to run their own affairs and exert such influence as they saw fit. It was incumbent on them to do so.

So democratic Europe must reduce wherever possible the political and ideological threshold between Western and Eastern Europe.

In this the European Community had a special part to play, being on a par with the United States and well superior to the Soviet Union in its economic potential.

But the fundamental advantage of the EEC for all member-countries and for its European neighbours, such as Austria, was to be found in the elementary political sphere.

It was a matter of keeping the peace and consolidating Europe's influence in world affairs.

Referring to Austria's part, Herr Scheel stressed that Austria as a neutral country played an important role in Europe even though it was not a member of the EEC.

In effect Austria's ties with the European Community were closer than those of a number of member-countries. Vienna pursued a bridgehead policy between East and West partly in the European interest.

Young people who took part in peace rallies repeatedly gave vent to their dissatisfaction and anger at Europeans being so powerless on security issues and so dependent on one or other of the superpowers.

This awareness of being dependent had at times triggered dangerous anti-American sentiment.

Young people seem not to realise, Herr Scheel said, that the way to reduce this dependence is for European countries to assume more and more responsibility of their own for their defence policies.

Politicians had not made it clear enough to young people that the desire for consolidation of peace could only be put into effect by strengthening European influence.

Europe could only assume greater responsibility for security and defence policy if there were a greater degree of integration.

Ensuring a military balance was the most important point of keeping the peace. The European countries must combine their efforts and their intellectual potential to become a factor for political decision and stability in a complex and insecure world.

Herr Scheel's Vienna speech had an Austrian political background. He was invited to address the gathering by the managing director of Austria's largest bank, Hannes Androsch.

Herr Androsch was for years Finance Minister and deputy to Chancellor Kreisky until he clashed with the Austrian leader and resigned from the Cabinet.

It was attentively noted in Vienna that he is increasingly beginning to show an interest in political issues and problems, which could be taken to mean that he was paving the way for a bid for the leadership in the post-Kreisky era.

Carl-Gustaf Ströhm

(Die Welt, 7 May 1982)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. – Distribution Manager Georgine Picone.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76, Tel. 22 85 1. Telex: 02-14733.

Advertising rates list No. 13 – Annual subscription DM 35.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedrich Pörtner, Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address

■ HOME AFFAIRS

SPD congress resolutions 'not as radical' as the other parties claim

As soon as the Social Democrats announced the resolutions that had been passed at their national congress in Munich, the other parties began their warnings about the threat of socialism.

Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff (FDP) was one of the first to use that jarring word "socialism"; he was soon followed by opposition leader Helmut Kohl, who seized the chance to sow disunity.

But are we really headed for socialism if the Munich resolutions are implemented?

Quite apart from the fact that the term "socialism" is not necessarily an expletive, there is nothing in the theses adopted by the congress that would indicate that the SPD intends to depart from its market economy principle as drafted in the Karl Schiller era (although the Schiller sees things in a somewhat different light today).

What the Social Democrats did was to present their ideas on warding off even more unemployment, which is, after all, the most pressing problem of the next few years.

A closer look at their resolutions will show that they have not put forward a single proposal that would run counter to the market as understood by the economic policy model of the neo-liberal school of thought — a model that both

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

CDU and FDP like to flaunt whenever the opportunity presents itself.

There is, for instance, the item calling for stepped up private and public sector investment as a means of creating new and lasting jobs.

The resolution also speaks of modernising our national economy to strengthen our competitiveness on world markets. And then there is the call for a drive to improve the skills and qualifications of the labour force and continue on the present course "away from oil".

What is so objectionable about all this? And who has always complained about the continuous deterioration of individual performance? And who has clamoured for new investments on the part of the state and the private business community in order to generate jobs?

It is the Free Democrats, the business community and the CDU. But when the Social Democrats do the same the whole thing gives the impression of socialism because, detractors say, it could well be meant differently.

But where would this difference lie? Modernisation of our economy and new investments ultimately always boil down to a fiscal policy that favours business.

And what about the policy aimed at cutting down oil consumption? Is this a "socialist" thesis if propounded by the SPD and a "market economy" one when put forward by the others? Hardly.

There is, however, a qualitative difference between the conservatives, the liberals and the SPD. This difference concerns the pivotal points in the technical solution to the energy problem but has nothing to do with ideological differences.

True, the Social Democrats don't want to erect powerstations come what may. Their emphasis is on saving energy, which would have a beneficial effect on both the environment and the labour market. The fact is that energy saving creates more jobs than the construction of nuclear powerstations.

The Social Democrats base this concept on a paper prepared by Hans Matthöfer, who was Finance Minister at the time of the congress and whose idea is that a job creation programme should not depend on investment subsidies only but that these should be coupled with finding solutions to the energy problem.

The SPD lists the following salient points of the programme:

- A rational use of energy (away from oil) by cutting down on consumption (proper insulation of housing, more effective industrial processes and thrifty road vehicles) and by making full use of waste energy (by developing district heating that would use waste industrial heat);
- Promotion of new coal-operated power stations to replace obsolete stations and so protect the environment.

All this is pretty much in keeping with market economy principles and would benefit small and medium sized businesses. Compared with this conceot, the nuclear energy plans of the other parties have all the appearances of planned economy.

The reason is that any electricity and heat supply provided primarily through atom-generated energy must of necessity be monopolistic and hence run counter to a market economy.

Nowhere do we find as much planned economy as in the drive towards a nuclear energy dominated state.

The Social Democrats also call for an extensive rehabilitation of the environment, for the preservation of our drinking water resources, better housing and transport and the development of our electronic communications network, which sounds more like a demand put forward by Lower Saxony's Prime Minister Ernst Albrecht (CDU).

So here, too, there is no sign of a destructive socialism unless we interpret even necessary state activities on behalf of a community as socialism.

Criticis of the SPD programme would need a divining rod to find socialist tendencies in it.

There are, of course, those who will discover such tendencies in the demand for higher tax rates for high earners and in the call for increased corporate taxes.

But even top business executives in conservative Britain and even Americans under Reagan regard Germany's top income bracket taxation as laughably low. This has little to do with the fact that higher tax rates would generate little additional revenue and are thus superfluous in terms of the nation's economy.

Other critics have zeroed in on the Munich theses on democracy in business, in particular such terminology as "economic and social councils", "redistribution of productive capital" and a couple of wishy-washy concepts of new models of labour participation.

Here we have a revival of ideas drafted in the late 1960s. But given present parliamentary majorities they have stand no chance whatsoever of being realised. They are pure "visions".

And while on the subject of visions, the SPD congress has revived some old dreams of 1968. But when it comes to down-to-earth matters, the Munich meeting has certainly come up with more realistic recipes than those presented by the conservatives. What is more, the SPD proposals are also more in keeping with market economy principles.

In their labour market policy, SPD stategists would like to see more state activity, saying that if this failed to materialise the nation would be headed for disaster.

And when responsible politicians try to get something tangible going in this field instead of relying on the somewhat undefined forces of the market, this is not only human nature but also politically understandable.

After all, what can market forces achieve? If the majority of the CDU and parts of the FDP are right, all the business community needs is a better "investment climate" — whatever that is supposed to mean — and growth will inevitably result.

If this were so, the nuclear power industry would only have to go on building new generating plants and everything would be all right, even if the electricity supplied by them is not needed at all.

But all this would achieve is to make the balance sheets of the major industrial companies look pretty. It remains doubtful, however, whether it will result in more jobs.

In a situation like that of today, investment means streamlining and thus doing away with jobs.

Given the same number of working hours, less work due to more technology would of necessity result in legions of jobless. The consequence would be that working times would have to be shortened.

The SPD programme speaks of shorter working times that would be laid down in law. In other words, an act governing maximum working times.

But bills of this nature are unlikely to rally a parliamentary majority. However, the demands put forward at the congress would bolster the German Trade Union Federation's call for shorter working times.

There are those who might suspect that there is a leftist cartel in operation; but then, shorter working times are not necessarily part of socialist ideology. The past has shown that they are simply part of market processes.

Neither the energy saving concept nor the idea of shorter working times can therefore be interpreted as "socialist".

But the conservatives are nevertheless doing so in a roundabout way. Since they have no counter proposals of any weight they regard driving wedges as their best protection and the accusation of "socialism" as the best way of evading a discussion on specific issues.

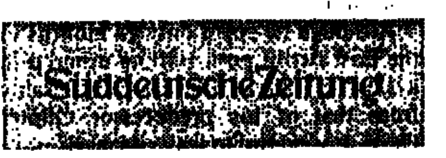
Have Germans come to regard anything that is left of Margaret Thatcher or Ronald Reagan as "socialism"? If so, socialism would be a fine thing because Thatcherism and Reaganomics have only produced more jobless despite their constant citing of market forces.

And since no German is that naive, the *"socialism campaign"* of the CDU and the Lambsdorff wing in the FDP is probably intended to pave the way for a new coalition that has so far been thwarted by the lack of an ideological reason that would satisfy disenchanted FDP voters.

Günter Buschmann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 9 May 1982)

Threats about coalition leave Social Democrats unruffled



SPD leaders seem less daunted than ever by FDP threats concerning the coalition.

Brandt, Wehner, Ehmke and Glotz have shown a great deal of self-assurance and toughness in their statements commenting on Count Lambsdorff's verbal exercises and FDP leader Genscher's efforts to set his party apart.

Gone are the days when the SPD fearfully awaited the next interview on the "state of the coalition" given by one of the partner's top men.

Though the situation is new, it simply reflects the position in which the FDP finds itself.

The Liberals' scope of action is considerably smaller than the advocates of a break with the coalition partner would make us believe.

And the fact that the forthcoming state elections and the decision on fiscal 1983 (coupled with the necessity to agree on a supplementary budget for 1982) could trigger a break does not exactly widen this scope.

Irritations that are caused by these elements could backfire on the FDP. The more vacillating it appears the greater the danger of eventually winding up as no more than the "fourth party". And Genscher fears nothing more than this.

In this situation, the SPD is wise to show itself self-assured yet it should not overtax a partner who is already under considerable strain.

The recent Schmidt-Genscher talks on the future of the coalition gave both of them a chance to appear a bit more calculable.

Even before the actual talks, Schmidt made it quite clear that he had no intention of totally disregarding the resolutions passed at the SPD party congress in Munich.

Yet it is obvious that they cannot serve as a basis for coalition government policies and Genscher must have known that all along.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 May 1982)

■ BERLIN

Changes of envoy sign of new Bonn approach

Bonn's representatives in both West Berlin and East Berlin have been changed. In West Berlin, Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski takes over from Dietrich Spangenberg and, on the other side of the Wall, Hans-Otto Bräutigam succeeds Klaus Bölling, who returns to Bonn. Bölling had held his job only for 16 months but Spangenberg was appointed to Berlin in 1974.

The residence of Bonn's man in West Berlin, a sprawling villa in fashionable Dahlem, could well be on its way to regaining some of its former lustre and significance.

Although a thorn in the flesh of he GDR because it represents West German presence in Berlin, the villa has had a considerable significance even for East Germany as a secluded meeting place.

Whenever there were delicate and critical issues to be discussed and when the two Germanies wanted to bring their affairs back on an even keel they used the Dahlem villa as a retreat for a bit of down-to-earth diplomacy behind closed doors.

Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, Bonn's newly-appointed commissioner for Berlin, who replaced Dietrich Spangenberg, could well try to put the place to its full potential use.

Chancellor Schmidt having removed the incumbent in a somewhat brusque manner, Bonn issued a statement to the effect that Wischnewski, an old hand at trouble shooting, would be entrusted with a dual function.

He was to be both Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office in Bonn and liaison man between Bonn, the Berlin Senate and the Western Allies. Wischnewski's appointment is part of the Cabinet reshuffle in Bonn.

The Chancellor's move came as a bit of a surprise. Herr Spangenberg, who was appointed to the Berlin post in 1974 and since 1977 had also been state secretary at Egon Franke's Ministry of Intra-German Affairs, divided his working week between Bonn and Berlin.

Wischnewski will be no more able to do this than was Egon Bahr, who once held the same combination of posts. His first and foremost job will be in Bonn, leaving time only for an occasional visit to Berlin.

Wischnewski's appointment was accompanied by a jarring note that made Berlin's Mayor Richard von Weizsäcker and his Senate doubt Bonn's promise of a close cooperation with the divided city.

Departing from the usual practice, Helmut Schmidt omitted to give the Berlin mayor advance notice of the appointment. Von Weizsäcker learned about it through the media.

Wischnewski's assumption of the post was thus inauspicious. Though a born Berliner, he is no Berlin expert. Spangenberg, on the other hand, was thoroughly familiar with all Berlin policy ramifications and was highly regarded by the city's CDU Senate.

He had been Willy Brandt's chief of staff during the SPD leader's time as Berlin mayor, Berlin's senator for federal affairs and, after a five-year spell as Gustav Heinemann's state secretary, he took over as Bonn's Berlin commissioner, a job for which he was highly qualified.

Spangenberg's replacement would only make sense if Bonn had been dissatisfied with his work. But no such criticism has ever been voiced.

The shift from Spangenberg to Wischnewski has made the representatives of the Western Allies uneasy about a possible loss of prestige and authority.

They suspect that the new commissioner will not so much devote himself to cultivating relations with them but will shift the emphasis to dealing primarily with their respective ambassadors in Bonn.

But Wischnewski's dual role in Bonn and Berlin becomes plausible when seen in connection with the appoint-



Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski

(Photo: Sven Simon)

ment of Hans-Otto Bräutigam as Bonn's permanent representative in the GDR.

Unlike Günter Gaus and Klaus Bölling, Bräutigam is the first career diplomat to hold this post.

As a role, the Social Democrats have traditionally mistrusted bureaucrats in policy-making posts. This mistrust is heightened in the case of people who are not one of them.

Yet there was no alternative to Bräutigam, the embodiment of an extraordinary blend: pragmatism and great analytical prowess coupled with liveliness and objectivity towards both things and persons.

Bräutigam has been deeply involved in and a staunch supporter of *Ostpolitik* and *Deutschlandpolitik* since the Four-Power negotiations on Berlin.

A non-partisan jurist in his ea[...] he has demonstrated that while [...] regulations seriously, they are [...] means the hub of his existence as [...] case with some civil servants.

He is an old enough hand to [...] that it is not only headline stuff [...] makes politics.

This is particularly important [...] the GDR is concerned, a country [...] the indicators of change must be [...] ed below the surface: in the chur[...] the arts and literature.

Bräutigam's civil service ethics [...] a particular weight in this context [...] Chancellor's Office does not expe[...] to draft *Deutschlandpolitik* con[...] but to move within the scope left [...] by the reins held by Klaus Bölling [...] Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski.

Wischnewski's post as Berlin c[...] missioner enables him to take an [...] part in intra-German affairs. Ope[...] under this cloak, he can open up [...] cond unofficial channel to the GDR [...] top of the official one, the perma[...] representative's office in East Berlin.

This could prove useful in view of [...] forthcoming fundamental decisions.

The GDR has so far refused to [...] Bonn's linkage between the compu[...] currency exchange for visitors from [...] West and an interest-free DM850m [...] of credit for intra-German trade that [...] pires on 30 June.

The summer could therefore mark [...] beginning of a new ice age in intra-Ger[...] man relations. What matters now is [...] find out whether Erich Honecker's [...] position is really as implacable as it [...] pears.

The GDR debt to the West [...] stands at $667 per head. This ma[...]

Continued on page 5

Career diplomat in East for the first time

After a 16-month break, Klaus Bölling has resumed his post as chief government spokesman in Bonn.

Commenting on the shift, Bölling said privately that he relinquished his office as Bonn's permanent representative in the GDR with reluctance, describing himself as still somewhat crushed.

He stressed that he had found it very difficult to give up his work in East Berlin but that, having been drafted by Chancellor Schmidt, he followed the summons to Bonn.

He said he was taking on his Bonn function out of loyalty to the Chancellor and to his duties as a political servant of the state.

Although he spent only 14 months in the East Berlin post, Bölling ushered in a new era that differed considerably from that of his predecessor Günter Gaus. It is bound to leave its mark.

Hans-Otto Bräutigam

(Photo: Poly-Press)

The diplomacy style of his successor, Hans-Otto Bräutigam, a career diplomat, has more similarity with that of Bölling than with that of Gaus, whose deputy Bräutigam was in the 1970s.

In his dealings with the GDR leadership as well as with the Bonn Chancellor's Office and the West German public, Gaus had always tried to paper over and play down differences of view.

He never gave the impression of baring his teeth at the other side when the going got tough, unlike Bölling, who was businesslike during talks but openly displayed his anger when lodging a protest.

Gaus appeared prepared to reward Eastern concessions with Western sacrifices, usually in financial terms.

Bölling, on the other hand, made it clear that his government would go do far and no further, deluding neither the other side nor himself.

It is not surprising that the East Berlin government is not enthusiastic about the change, though naturally not showing this.

Bölling had one advantage that offset some disadvantages in the eyes of the GDR leadership. He had a direct wire to the Chancellor while Gaus, whose provocative public statements and balancing act on the brink of constitutionality upset Schmidt on several occasions, was denied access.

The Schmidt-Honecker meeting in the GDR last December marked the climax of the Bölling era, but the outcome of the intra-German summit has f[...] short of expectations so far.

Though the GDR made a few conc[...] sions regarding easements in travel be[...] ween the two Germanies, it has re[...] mained unyielding on the compu[...] currency exchange issue.

Only recently, Bölling was told [...] any reduction in the exchange q[...] was out of the question.

Bölling's political balance sheet [...] slightly more than a year in the GDR [...] not particularly gratifying in other [...] spects either.

Normalisation of relations has m[...] no headway and there is still no a[...] ment on the ecological protection of [...] land waterways on both sides of [...] border, cultural exchange and [...] commercial transfers. There has [...] been no major easement on visits.

Major projects such as the electri[...] tion of GDR rail links to Berlin and [...] construction of a coal-fired power [...] tion near Magdeburg have also [...] come closer to realisation.

Even the extension of the inter[...] free DM850m line of credit for in[...] German trade beyond its expiry on [...] June is still open.

But considering the burdens impo[...] on East-West relations by Afghanis[...] and Poland, the very fact that ties h[...] not deteriorated still further must [...] seen as a gain.

Viewed in this light, Bölling's bala[...] sheet is positive.

Personally, he has every reason to [...] gard his 14 months in East Berlin as [...] asset. He gained valuable insights in[...] world both close to Bonn and dist[...] familiar and yet alien.

This experience could well prove [...] great help on his old and new post [...] the Chancellor's friend and spokesman.

Liselotte Müller

(Mannheimer Morgen, 4 May 1982)

■ THE WORK FORCE

Controversy over plans to extend maternity leave

Plans in Bonn for parental leave, a job-creating improvement on maternity leave, are proving controversial because of the expense.

They have been under consideration by the Bundestag since the end of last year but little has been heard about them in public, which is surprising given the controversy raging over them in Bonn.

There are two plans being discussed, but both would cost billions, although they would also relieve the burden of unemployment by taking up to 600,000 parents out of the job market.

In terms of welfare or family policy parental leave is splendid, but the benefit must be weighed against the cost, which is only partly offset by savings in other departments.

Maternity leave ends two months after childbirth. Parental leave would enable either parent to take leave from work for up to two years to look after a baby.

The idea is a distinct improvement on a similar scheme already in operation for mothers only until baby is six months old, a scheme that has proved clearly to the disadvantage of working mothers.

This is because employers have preferred to hire men rather than women, who might not only have children but also apply for extended maternity leave.

Parental leave comes in two versions. The one set of proposals is as follows:

The parent who takes parental leave stops working and no longer earns pay, but social security, unemployment and health insurance contributions continue, although nominally only (they are zero-rated).

When the child is two the employer must offer the parent a job comparable to the one he left. For a while the parent cannot be sacked from the new job either.

If a further child is born during parental leave, further leave may be taken.

The other set of proposals provides for parental leave to be taken until the child is 6 months, 12 months, 18 months or two years old.

The choice is for its parents to make. They may also share the leave in two equal parts. Arrangements may be revised provided the employer is amenable.

Further details are the same, and in both cases a parental grant of DM400 per month per child would be paid by the government.

This allowance would be increased to DM700 per child for single parents.

In return the DM750-per-month allowance made to mothers on extended maternity leave would be cancelled. So would the tax-deductible children's allowance, while government grants towards the upbringing of a first child would be correspondingly reduced.

Various plans have been considered for transitional arrangements and for the eventuality that work is not resumed once parental leave ends but a further child is born during the following year.

The two schemes are based on Social Democratic plans for parental leave and Chistian Democratic plans for a new children's allowance. They have much in common but by no means are identical.

The Social Democrats cater only for working parents who interrupt work after childbirth, while the Christian Democrats would also like to see provisions made for parents who were not employed before pregnancy.

The Social Democrats are accused of favouring employed persons and neglecting housewives, while the Christian Democrats are accused of press-ganging women into service as housewives-only.

Most women do indeed stop work at some stage in their lives to become housewives-only, usually when their first child is born, so they would invariably benefit from the parental leave facility.

The number of leave-takers whose jobs would need a replacement would, it is estimated, be 300,000 in the first year and 600,000 in the second year in which the scheme was operated.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 30 April 1982)

Pay deals a help for economy

The trade unions have done their bit for the economy by showing moderation and common sense in this year's round of wage talks. Now it is the employers' turn.

Wage increases negotiated have been 4.2 per cent and less, and certainly less than inflation, which is expected to run at 4.5 per cent.

They mean a slight decline in real earnings which, taken alongside higher productivity, will ease the cost burden on industry.

This is a more far-reaching concession than has been made by US auto workers.

So German trade unions cannot be accused of having paid no heed to companies that are operating at a loss and a government that has run out of money.

They cannot be accused of having enforced their demands regardless of the fate of the unemployed either. So what have they gained in return?

There are no signs of an immediate improvement in unemployment. Despite the economic revival forecast by economic research institutes this year the number out of work will increase.

Heinz Oskar Vetter, general secretary of DGB, the Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation, said employers would have to hire one million unemployed in return for wage moderation.

This was wishful thinking from the start. No company can afford in the long run to employ a substantial number of people for whom it has no real work.

That would be to jeopardise its ability to meet its commitments and to endanger its very survival.

One can but hope that moderate wage increases, combined with an export boom and sensible economic policies, will get the economy sufficiently on the move to create lasting new jobs.

That is not to say that employers cannot be expected to make any kind of gesture in return. There is much room for improvement in industrial democracy and in profit-sharing.

But there is also a serious problem that cannot be solved without the employers' cooperation, the problem of providing enough apprenticeships for both German and foreign youngsters.

The number of would-be apprentices has increased by 14 per cent to 381,000, while the number of apprenticeships on offer and registered at labour exchanges has declined by 11 per cent to 389,000.

A shortage of skilled workers would inevitably result if the trend were to continue, no to mention the political and social repercussions of large-scale youth unemployment no employer could wish for.

This is particularly true of the building industry, crisis-torn though it may be, whereas many leading industrial companies are training many more apprentices than they need.

But employers are only going to hire more apprentices provided the cost of training them, already high, is not further increased by government regulations and union demands.

They must also feel sure they will not be pilloried if, once apprentices have served their time, they are unable to take them on as permanent staff.

Employers can be expected to take their social obligations seriously, but we cannot expect them to view subsequent abuse kindly.

Michael Jungblut

(Die Zeit, 7 May 1982)

Continued from page 4

that East Germany owes the West more than Poland does. This amount does not include the East German debt resulting from intra-German transfers.

Moreover, 40 per cent of debts ($11.4bn) are due to be repaid this summer. This makes it obvious that East Berlin needs the swing. In fact, the GDR has already threatened dire consequences should Bonn reduce it to DM200m.

Bonn's objectives will remain in abeyance pending the solution of these problems. They include a settlement for Berlin's S-Bahn city transit system, ecological protection of inland waters, settlement of transfer problems and improved rail links between West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany.

A division of labour seems in the offing: Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski is to draft the framework conditions while Hans-Otto Bräutigam is to help implement them.

The easy chairs in front of the fireplace in the Dahlem villa seem an ideal place in which to thrash things out.

Jürgen Engert

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 7 May 1982)

Drop in jobless 'is deceptive'

There is always a seasonal decline in unemployment at this time of the year. This year it was less than usual, no matter what the Federal Labour Office may say.

Unemployment in april was down from 7.6 to 7.2 per cent, but this was due entirely to seasonal considerations. There is no sign yet of an economic recovery.

Export statistics may be impressive, inflation may be on the decline, wage increases may have been moderate and interest rates may be falling.

But world affairs and international economic indicators look none too good, and for the most part the reasons for lack of confidence in the German economy are of its own making.

The Bundesbank may be in a position to reduce interest rates now wage increases have proved moderate and inflation has been slowed down.

But the Bonn government's economic policy, with its employment and taxation packages for which there does not seem to be a parliamentary majority, tends to make people feel insecure.

Besides, items are already apparent for which the government is going to need more money this year, and the Federal Labour Office will be one of the main culprits.

Rainer Diermann

(Nordwest Zeitung, 5 May 1982)

Funding pension schemes a growing problem

Funding pensions is a problem that will be with us for some time, and not just because of persistent economic recession and unemployment.

Unemployment is an obvious problem. One million out of work means over DM2bn less a year in contributions to pension schemes that are short of cash as it is.

From 1990, if not sooner, the birth rate decline will also make its mark. Fewer and fewer people in work will have to pay for more and more pensioners.

Sceptics reckon the ratio will be one *to one by the year 2030.*

So it is hardly surprising that seven out of 10 working people in the Federal Republic of Germany are already worried their pensions are in jeopardy.

CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler is not in favour of FDP plans to peg pension increases to average earnings after tax.

That, he said, would benefit people who drew large pensions, not the small fry. It would not seriously relieve the burden on pension fund finances either; unless, that was, the Liberals planned further tax increases.

Pegging pension increases to average gross incomes would continue to be the only way of enabling pensioners to share economic progress.

The 1957 pensions reform was tried and trusted, he said. It would be wrong to jettison the principles on which it was based at the first signs of difficulty.

SPD proposals for a basic or minimum pension did not meet with his approval. Like Norbert Blüm, the Berlin *Senator for Federal Affairs,* he favoured keeping pensions earnings-related.

There must be no confusion over insurance and welfare.

Views may differ on this point but one consideration over and above whether plans can be financed deserves to be given absolute priority. It is that the pension fund ought, as far as is possible, to be kept out of the politicians' reach as a means of balancing budgets and making political reforms.

Exactly this happened with the reduction in social security contributions to help offset an increase in unemployment insurance. The reliability and predictability of provisions for old age are indispensable prerequisites for social peace.

Heike Braun

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 7 May 1982)

■ THE ECONOMY

Economic pundits rap fiscal gimmickry, forecast slow growth this year

Though general economic conditions have improved, there is at best a slow upswing on the way and unemployment is unlikely to ease this year.

This is the gist of the spring forecast made by West Germany's five leading economic research institutes.

They call for a supply-side policy which must keep a close eye on its effect on demand.

This formula is an attempt to harmonise the dispute over the correct remedy for economic woes, a middle-of-the-road remedy between a supply and demand approach.

Attempts to pave the way for growth and employment by increasingly tinkering with market forces, by subsidies and similar measures having failed, the institutes recommend more individual initiative, responsibility and innovative spirit.

The state, the economists say, must provide the extra investment needed to stimulate private investment.

The institutes recommend a consistently potential-oriented monetary policy, moderation in collective bargaining and a fiscal policy that will not interfere with demand.

The Bundesbank should try to sustain



a potential-oriented monetary policy even against adverse foreign trade effects, fiscal problems and general economic conditions.

The institutes even recommend discontinuing cooperation within the European Monetary System (EMS) should its obligation to intervene on foreign exchange markets have an adverse effect on domestic monetary policy.

Most of the institutes try to make wage moderation palatable by arguing that this is the best way of engendering growth.

The latest round of wage deals, the institutes say, was a step in the right direction; but a more regionalised and qualification-oriented wage structure would strike more balance on the labour market.

The institutes' most biting criticism is directed at fiscal policy of the past few years which, the economists say, was off target on all points.

It violated both the principle of improving conditions for growth and the principle of continuity. It was generally incompetent and marked by action for the sake of action, such as the new employment programme.

Investment incentives are criticised as being short-winded and ineffectual, but the institutes recommend them to prevent further loss of confidence by the business community due to see-sawing.

But the money must not be raised by an increase in VAT. It should be provided by cutbacks in public sector consumer spending and by paring down subsidies.

What matters is to review revenues and spending that have been handled profligately up to now.

This includes pension increases based on gross earnings, excessively lenient criteria for unemployment benefits, non-participatory handling of health insurance benefits, financing of training and retraining, including academic training, subsidies in farming, steel, coal and shipbuilding and special civil service privileges.

On the brighter side, for the first time since 1978, this year's current account will close with a surplus of DM5bn.

On economic trends two institutes disagreed with the majority view. While Kiel anticipates a slight improvement in the course of this year, it holds that this will not be until late in the year.

It therefore expects another slight decline (0.5 per cent) in GNP for 1982 as a whole. The majority expects 0.5-per cent growth, Bonn 1.5 per cent.

The German Institute for Economic Research, Berlin, whose president was recently made a member of the Advisory Council of Economic Experts, says the investment subsidy should be financed through additional state borrowing.

It considers tax increases, especially increases of indirect taxes such as VAT, necessary if the budget is to be consolidated.

The Institute also disagrees with the majority view that wage moderation must be maintained for years to come.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 May 1982)

Unrealistic proposals

At first glance it would seem as if the views of economic pundits were converging. Left-wing economists have for years been calling for heavy government investment to fight unemployment.

They have not objected to parts of such a programme being financed by a drastic increase in state borrowing.

The same applies to their latest "Memorandum 82" in which they repeat proposals that met with massive rejection in the past.

Bonn's Advisory Council of Economic Experts, whose annual forecast left-wing economists have always countered with a projection of their own, also called for an additional investment programme (of DM7bn) to stimulate growth and fight unemployment.

Does that mean that the two groups of experts are starting to see eye to eye? Certainly not. This becomes obvious on reading a bit further in the "Memorandum 82".

True, the Advisory Council (known as the "Five Wise Men") called for more public-sector investment, but some of the additional money they demand should be ploughed back into the business community in the form of tax relief to stimulate private investment. This is an approach with which the leftist experts refuse to go along.

They demand pure state programmes and a look at their financing proposals shows where the difficulties lie.

There is, for instance, the highly controversial surtax on higher incomes which is politically as impossible to implement as the labour market levy for the self-employed and civil servants.

Another example is the removal of various types of tax relief. Justified though such a demand might be in some cases, it, too, cannot be implemented for political reasons — at least not now.

In terms of economic policy, the leftist experts are also wrong in demanding an increased budget. State borrowing has put such a strain on the money market as to make it impossible for the Bundesbank to depart from its high interest rate policy.

Yet the leftists call for an end to high interest rates.

This being so, the suggestions put forward in the "Memorandum 82" will, as in the past, receive no response from the Bonn government even though many of the proposals coincide with the resolutions passed at the SPD party congress in Munich.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 28 April 1982)

Bundesbank criticises EMS for lacking uniform policies

The Bundesbank says the European Monetary System (EMS) could break up if member-nations fail to ensure monetary stability at home.

The advantages provided by the EMS are small compared with the expectations that were pinned on it in the beginning.

The intention was to create a zone of monetary stability in Europe and thus a sound basis for a sustained growth and high rate of employment.

Exchange rate disparities between the deutschemark and the French and Belgian francs are seen as being symptoms of the mounting problems within the EMS.

Quite apart from such developments as widely differing inflation rates, there are now also great disparities in economic policy.

For example, Germany is making an all-out effort to keep inflation down, to balance its current account and to consolidate public sector finances.

France, on the other hand, has embarked on an expansive course safeguarded by price controls and restrictions in the flow of capital and foreign exchange.

Comments the Bundesbank: "A better harmonisation of economic policies by member-nations seems more remote than ever.

Furthermore, the heavy devaluation of the Belgian franc in February is "a course that is no longer entirely compatible with the EMS and the interests of member-nations."

The Bundesbank therefore wonders how the EMS is to continue, given the lack of cohesion among member-states.

It is therefore extremely wary of a further institutionalisation of the EMS.

It insists that other EMS central banks should continue to obtain Bundesbank approval whenever they intend using the German currency for intervention on foreign exchange markets.

Due to the lack of attractiveness of the ECU, or European currency unit, Germany's central bank also refuses to accept more than 50 per cent in ECUs for balancing the accounts of EMS central banks until the ECU becomes freely convertible into other reserve currencies.

The Bundesbank is also against any attempt by the EMS zone to uncouple itself from America's high interest rates, if necessary by restrictions in the flow of capital and other artificial measures.

Such a policy, it says, would undermine confidence in European currencies and do more harm than good.

Germany's central bankers criticise the United States for not taking part in foreign exchange intervention since March 1981.

The Bundesbank says that this is the reason why dollar intervention by other central banks has been less convincing and effective since then.

The United States should also have a vested interest in a steady development of international economic relations which can only be hampered by frequent exchange rate fluctuations.

The Bundesbank calls for a better international coordination of monetary and credit policies, appealing to the USA to show at least a minimum of cooperation on foreign exchange markets.

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 29 April 1982)

Export surplus: all-time high

German industry chalked up its largest post-war export surplus, DM6.4bn, in March. It was almost double the February figure; and only a year ago trade showed an import surplus of DM173m.

The export surplus, which in the first quarter of this year stood at DM11.2bn, almost equalled the last quarter of 1981 when the surplus stood at DM14.3bn.

The foreign trade surpluses have naturally led to an improvement in the current account which, for the first time this year, closed with a surplus of DM2bn in March. In the same month last year the current account was DM3bn in the red.

But the first quarter of this year still closed with a balance of payments deficit of DM1.7bn, while the last quarter of 1981 showed a surplus of DM9.3bn.

With a volume of DM41.8bn, March exports broke all records and topped the best month last year, October, by DM4bn. March exports rose by 24 per cent against the same month last year.

Exports in the first quarter of this year, DM107.6bn, bettered last year's figure for the corresponding quarter by 18 per cent.

Since export prices had risen 6 per cent by March, the volume of exports adjusted for inflation was 12 per cent high than a year earlier.

Imports also hit a record in March, DM35.4bn, 4 per cent higher than in the same month last year.

Harald Mahnke

(Rheinische Post, 29 April 1982)

■ BUSINESS

Steel industry faces further cuts and redundancies

There is no sign of an upswing in the steel industry. Usually an early indicator of economic trends, steel's prospects look bleak for the whole of this year.

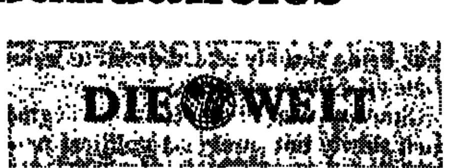
Not even the meagre rise of crude steel production by 3.2 per cent in the first quarter of this year can be sustained for the rest of 1982, steelmen say.

They expect an output of 42 million tons of crude steel for this year as against 41.6 million tons in 1981.

The record output of the last boom year, 1974, with its 53.2 million tons is irrevocably a thing of the past. 1982 will thus simply be another year of the steel crisis that has existed since 1975.

Still, this year will be far from as bad as 1981 when the industry sustained losses of DM2bn.

On the contrary, braced by the European production and supply quotas,



steel manufacturers have steeply increased their prices since last autumn and adjusted them to the dramatic increases of energy and raw materials prices.

Even the last but one of the previously agreed series of price hikes for rolled steel, which amounted to DM20 per ton and became operative on 1 April, is now showing its effects.

Some steel mills (though far from all) have been out of the zone of heavy losses in the past few months. But all they have achieved so far is very modest profits.

There is no chance whatsoever that this could make up for the DM10bn in losses over the past few years. This applies not only in the short but in all likelihood also in the long term.

The short term situation remains vulnerable for two reasons. On the one hand, German steel exports are hampered by protectionist import barriers in the important US market which cannot be offset by sales generated by the added demand on other world markets.

On the other, the domestic market with its declining steel consumption has come under growing import pressure.

The quota of foreign steel on German markets which stood at close to 37 per cent in 1981, almost matching the quota of German steel exports (41 per cent), reached 42 per cent in the first two months of this year.

The trend continues to rise, if for no other reason because non-EEC suppliers are being attracted by the higher prices in the Community and because the EEC Commission is doing little to check the influx.

There are no silver linings in the offing in the long term either.

Most experts anticipate that the EEC, the world's largest domestic market, will see no more than a recovery phase until 1985, with considerably lower growth rates than in the past.

Steel consumption in terms of unit of overall industrial output is declining due to higher energy costs (and steel production happens to be extremely energy-intensive).

Therefore, the economic recovery in the EEC countries will result in little more than stagnating steel consumption until 1985.

Only steel manufacturers who sell more than four-fifths of their output on the EEC market can, if they are lucky, expect to raise their present level of output slightly.

In this situation, it is of little benefit to German steel companies that their technical and structural adaptation process has put them at the top of the European steel industry.

It is also useless to point to the fact that subsidies in neighbouring European Community countries aimed at keeping ailing companies going have so far cost DM80bn, an amount that would suffice to create jobs for all who have been laid off in the steel industry over the years.

Further painful cutbacks in the German steel industry's production capacities and payrolls remain likely.

Joachim Gehlhoff

(Die Welt, 5 May 1982)

Energy-saving here to stay

Energy-saving prompted by high prices will continue, the last two years having already exceeded all expectations, says Deutsche Shell, of Hamburg.

Due to the long-term outlook of the study, until the year 2000, the company does not refer to it as a forecast but as a perspective.

Should GNP growth, adjusted for inflation, average an annual 1.7 per cent until 1990, the consumption of primary energy would rise from 371 million tons of coal equivalent now to 408 million tons in 1990 and 436 million tons in 2000.

Should the annual growth rate not exceed 0.9 per cent, primary energy consumption would decline markedly in the next 20 years: to 365 million tons of coal equivalent in 1990 and 337 million tons in the year 2000.

Even transport, a growth business up to now, will reduce its energy consumption, the study says.

It is primarily electricity that will cause a rise in the demand for primary energy. Coal-fired and nuclear energy will rise steeply and that of natural gas-fired electricity slightly. Oil-fired electricity will drop from 48 per cent in 1980 to between 30 and 36 per cent in the year 2000.

Domestic sales of oil products, which have already declined from 133 million tons in 1979 to 106 million tons in 1981, will level off at less than 100 million tons in the medium term.

The decline will continue to 84 million tons in 1990 and 77 million tons in the year 2000.

While declining consumption in the energy market for heating has been with us for some time, it is now spreading to motor fuels as well.

Deutsche Shell stresses, however, that the projection is fraught with uncertainties, among them the effects of a possible worsening of unemployment, the extent of future energy saving, the type of motor fuel that will be used, the energy structure of future power stations and the use of heat exchange pumps.

(Handelsblatt, 3 May 1982)

Money: where it went last year

Private householders put a larger portion of their incomes into savings accounts and other forms of investment in 1981 than in the previous year.

According to the Federal Statistics Office, high-income households spent only 73 per cent of their available incomes on goods and services, compared with 80 per cent for the medium-income brackets and 85 per cent for those with a low income.

Pensioner households managed to invest 9 per cent (including debt servicing).

With rising incomes, the quota of investments rose to 13 and 16 per cent respectively for four-person employee and civil service households.

Compared with 1980, pensioner households spent considerably more for energy (excluding automotive fuel). While in 1980, DM102.92 was enough to cover the energy bill, 1981 required an average of DM112.51.

Medium- and high-income households, on the other hand, managed to offset higher energy costs by cutting down consumption in 1981. Here, the heating oil consumption went down by 12 and 16 per cent respectively. Gas and electricity consumption were also markedly down against 1980.

Pensioner households spent an average of DM277.80 (23 per cent of available income) on rent. Four-person households paid high rents (DM418.03 and DM616.97 respectively for the two income groups); but this accounted for only 16 per cent of income.

dpa/vwd

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 1 May 1982)

Public blissfully ignorant of economic facts of life

Assuming Goethe was right when he said that doubts grow in direct proportion to growing knowledge, Germans should be optimistic about the economic future.

Their knowledge about the simplest of economic facts and contexts is scantier than most businessmen, trade unionists and politicians realise.

This is the conclusion to be drawn from polls conducted by a Bremen market research company, Getas.

The survey, of 2,301 Germans aged over 14, of whom 911 were employed, was commissioned by the business magazine *Aktiv* and completed in March.

Like other surveys commissioned by chambers of commerce and industry, the Getas polls also show that most working people think that profit margins in business are much higher than they are and the tax burden lower. They are also wrong in their assessment of the general economic situation.

Only four per cent knew that the profit margin on sales is less than five per cent. About a quarter estimated it at 10 to 20 per cent and another quarter at 30 to 50 per cent.

Answers as to the tax burden per DM100 of profits were equally off the mark. Only eight per cent said DM50; and more than half estimated the tax rate at less than 30 per cent.

Despite the public discussion about the recession, 60 per cent thought that our GNP had risen last year against 1980. Only one-third were aware that GNP fell in 1981.

The interviewers did not confuse the respondents with such specialised expressions as GNP and profit margin but expressed themselves in the simplest of terms.

A high proportion of the correct answers on the importance of profits and the reasons for inflation lost some of their significance due to the fact that these two topics have been the subject of heated public discussions for decades.

Another important but newer issue, the fight against unemployment through shorter working hours, brought entirely different results.

Here, most of the people questioned, who were given several possible answers to choose from, took a guess.

Fifty-four per cent gave an affirmative answer to the contention that shorter working times would raise production costs.

The resulting necessity to rationalise was recognised by 51 per cent, while 49 per cent were convinced that shorter working times would create additional jobs.

The question as to the social security benefits provided by employers revealed the greatest degree of ignorance.

Sixty-one per cent are aware that the employers pay part of the social security pensions and health insurance; but only one in three took into account such payments as those under the DM624 capital accumulation act, vacations and Christmas bonuses.

And not even one in ten gave another moment's thought to continued pay during illness and payments under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

Unlike with the other questions, here the interviewers did not supply multiple choices but asked open questions.

Even so, it is obvious that the working population becomes aware of the employers' contributions to the social security system only if this is paid to supplement the insured person's own contribution rather than as a 100 per cent contribution by the employer.

The marks the survey gives to politicians and journalists are poor. Only one out of five considered their statements on economic issues intelligible.

Half understand them only once in a while, and 22 per cent said that such subjects are dealt with in a language understandable only to specialists.

Still, 40 per cent of the working respondents in general and 52 per cent of blue collar workers said that they would be more interested in economics if politicians and journalists expressed themselves more clearly.

Hugo Müller-Vogg

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 May 1982)

■ PERSPECTIVES

No looking back in anger in debate about Bonn-Moscow relations

Anxiety was not, for once, the keynote of an East-West encounter in Aschaffenburg held to mark the tenth anniversary of Bonn's 1972 treaty with Moscow.

High-ranking officials held the stage at the provincial city's Stadttheater as a middle-aged member of the audience noted that when he looked at the men on the platform he no longer felt so worried.

They included Valentin Falin, a former Soviet ambassador in Bonn and now a senior official of the CPSU central committee, and Helmut Sonnenfeldt, one of Henry Kissinger's closest associates as US Secretary of State.

The Germans were Egon Bahr, a Social Democrat and one of the men who drew up Bonn's Ostpolitik, Walther Leisler Kiep, a Christian Democratic spokesman on foreign affairs, and Paul Frank, who under Free Democrat Walter Scheel was state secretary at the Bonn Foreign Office.

An annual debate is held in Aschaffenburg on a controversial issue of current affairs. This year it was held to mark the tenth anniversary of the Bonn Bundestag's ratification of the Moscow treaty.

The atmosphere in Aschaffenburg was a far cry from the excitement that accompanied the 1972 parliamentary debate on the treaties with the East Bloc.

The treaty with Moscow, the crux of *Bonn's Ostpolitik and a sore point with the Christian Democrats*, was suddenly approved by all, including Herr Leisler Kiep.

The heated debate of a decade ago seemed little more than a historical reminiscence. There was no looking back in anger. Instead, it was realised that the Moscow treaty had been a political and legal necessity.

It improved relations between Bonn and Moscow and thereby gained Bonn greater diplomatic leeway, an advantage that can be put to good use in the current state of world affairs.

But that did not necessarily mean that progress had been entirely satisfactory over the past 10 years.

The atmosphere on-stage was a little ceremonial, a little stilted. Maybe it was the glare of TV spotlights too that prompted Falin, Bahr, Sonnenfeldt and Kiep to make do with polite and noncommittal words.

Yet maybe it was also the overall political situation, to which the platform speakers invariably returned.

Relations between Bonn and Moscow were the subject for discussion, but reference was made time and again to the superpowers and relations between them.

This hammered home the point that ties between Bonn and Moscow continue to form part of a greater international framework.

Indeed, only when ties between Washington and Moscow are satisfactory can such a major bilateral agreement as the Moscow treaty come into its own.

This realisation is nothing new. It was the starting point of Bonn's new Ostpolitik. And when ties between the Big Two are less and less based on confidence, the emphasis on the Moscow treaty as the cornerstone of ties between Bonn and Moscow becomes an empty phrase.

When representatives of East and West meet nowadays they seem to count missiles, to write off one weapon system against another and to add manpower under arms. This was just what happened in Aschaffenburg too.

It seemed to be one set of figures after another, with the East-West dialogue being steadily scaled down to a debate on military strategy.

Strategy was discussed to a degree that slowly but surely set political perspectives aside. Small wonder there was mention of anxiety in Aschaffenburg!

Both Egon Bahr and Valentin Falin, who was undoubtedly the star of the two-day show, sought with the courage born of despair to offer resistance to the new feeling that marks ties between America and Russia.

As the two men most intimately associated with the Moscow treaty they will also have had themselves in mind.

But what use are appeals to common sense when military systems are increasingly getting out of human control? This was a point expressly made by Mr Falin, and not merely for propaganda effect or as a threat levelled at the West, one may reasonably assume.

Helmut Sonnenfeldt voiced his views in a manner that at times was irksomely casual. But can Dr Kissinger's former associate fully dissociate himself from the attitude toward the Soviet Union adopted by the Reagan administration even though he is no longer in government service?

It would be too easy to make relations between Bonn and Moscow out to be solely dependent on the climate of ties between the superpowers.

There is still plenty Bonn and Moscow, each on their own, can do to improve relations between them.

Albert Grigoriants, Bonn correspondent of *Izvestia*, levelled wholesale criticism at the way the Soviet Union is covered in the German media. This need be no cause for alarm.

Lev Bezymenski, Bonn correspondent of the Soviet news agency *Novosti*, said the 10 years since the Moscow treaty was signed had been years of missed opportunities.

So they may have been, but much of the blame lies with Moscow.

It is not much use on such an occasion for Germans to fight the legal battles of the past over the German Question, as Regensburg international law expert Jens Hacker sought to do in Aschaffenburg.

He was a self-styled and somewhat self-satisfied Devil's advocate, a role that can no longer, in this case, do any good since history, regrettably perhaps, has taken a different course.

The future cannot be programmed on the basis of the past. Legal claims are no substitute for political imagination and certainly not a basis on which changes can be wrought in ties between Germans and Russians.

TV linkman Guido Knopp, not the most effective chairman on the platform, mentioned an opinion poll of which the findings had yet to be published.

Two out of three Germans had a poor opinion of the Russians, it seemed. Views may differ on what use polls of this kind are, but it is certainly true to say that traditional views, not to say prejudice, strongly colour the German view of the Russians.

The poll's findings did little more than confirm this aspect rather than reveal anything new.

Market research is not available on how the Russians view the Germans, but it seems reasonable to assume that many Russians have yet to straighten out their opinions.

People in neither country can be too proud of themselves.

Ten years after the ratification of the Moscow treaty there are still many blots in the copy-book even though it has much to be said for it.

Mr Falin chose to look ahead two or three decades. In its first decade, he said, the Moscow treaty has not yet passed the test of time.

Heinz Verfürth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 4 May 1982)

Germany and the many faces of patriotism



Patriotism can be kitsch, a pallid belief in symbols and anything but the expression of a missing sense and purpose to life.

In the United States the symbols of the nation are given the full show business marketing treatment, with the Star-Spangled Banner played like a ubiquitous advertising spot in ball games on radio and TV.

Patriotism can also have power without being a mere rippling of muscle when it gives expression, especially with religious connotations, to the desire of an entire nation for life and survival, as in Poland.

It can, for that matter, be a vestige of history, in a state of collapse like the erstwhile British empire yet suddenly powerful enough to motivate a country, and be it only in connection with the Falklands, as at present.

We Germans are no longer troubled by patriotism, or so it would seem. Recent history has made us forget any pretensions to it. It has gone further still, sweeping aside the environs of patriotism.

We have lost our national pride, our national feeling and maybe even our national character. What went on in the 30s, the dreadful aims of the Hitler regime that usurped the concept of the nation, discredited it for ages.

Can we still even as much as allow ourselves to think in terms of nationhood? We have learnt from experience how fast droplets can run together to form heavy seas.

Are fears that a little patriotism might be quick to turn into something worse not entirely justified? What, for instance, about the xenophobia that has again begun to rear its ugly head?

Yet even if many people have a split relationship with the nation and its symbols, has not a covert longing for a greater collective feeling survived in Germany?

Is not opinion pollster Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann right in asking whether democracy can be viable when it is entirely abstract? One might just as well ask whether a nation is viable in the abstract, without aims and symbols.

We have been obliged by the course of history to give the aims of our people an inward direction, setting up the *Wirtschaftswunder*, or 'miracle' of postwar economic recovery, as an *ersatz* national symbol.

Since 1945 not even the idea of reunification as a foreign policy objective has ever really established a firm foothold in Germany.

True enough, we can hardly afford any outward show, let alone direction, of patriotism.

Not for nothing did an impartial observer recently wonder whether Germany's role of a mediator in world affairs might not mark the beginnings of the feeling of strength of which the Germans had fallen foul on more than one occasion in the past.

Besides, a lack of patriotism need not be to a nation's detriment. Fixed ideas about enemies are harder to establish. The people think less egoistically than their neighbours.

Are we Germans not heading in the right direction on this point? Then again, are fatherland and mother country as abhorred as we always imagine, especially by young people?

Much of this sentiment has returned in a roundabout way, via the environmental movement and its sense of the intrinsic value of nature.

It is not an old-style, 19th century patriotism any more, not the kind that clamoured for the state, strength and conquest and cared much about things German.

The old symbols are dead too. The folk song has taken the place of the national anthem. 'Nuclear Power? No Thanks!' stickers give many groups a sense of identity their forebears felt at the sight of the German flag.

The German sense of nationhood has been splintered into the feelings of groups, each with their own symbols.

But is there any ground for setting out in search of fresh aims for patriotism? After all, we no longer have any territorial claims except for the precept of reunification.

We no longer face an acute threat to our survival and are free from oppression. This is surely a state of affairs about which we should be not unhappy.

Klaus-Ulrich Moeller

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 16 April 1982)

■ ENVIRONMENT

Consumers and manufacturers clash on nuclear bombardment of foodstuffs

Farm-fresh is a popular advertising slogan and most housewives would like to feel they have filled their shopping baskets with fresh food.

But appearances are deceptive. Does the pink flush of chicken meat really prove the bird is in the pink, or is it all chemistry?

The onions are round, firm and dry. The potatoes are clean and appetising in appearance. But chemicals are invariably involved.

Crops are sprayed with pesticides in the ground and sterilised and preserved once they are harvested.

The food in the shopping basket is sure to have been bombarded with chemicals at one stage or another: sprayed, gassed and so on.

Consumers have grown accustomed to the idea. They fondly hope the government has the situation under control and that the Food and Drugs Act is effective.

Paragraph 8 of the Act says: "It is forbidden to manufacture or treat foodstuffs for others in such a way as to make their consumption a health hazard."

The small print adds that: "Technical progress and economic development are not to be unnecessarily impeded."

So someone or other is left holding the baby, facing a possible choice between technical progress and a flourishing economy or the health of the general public.

The latest headline in this context is the news that two spice wholesalers plan to make their products stay fresh longer by bombarding them with radioactive isotopes. They have applied to the Bonn Health Ministry for permission to do so.

A decision has not yet been reached but feelings are running high. Special permission must be given because the process is generally banned in connection with food.

But once an exception has been made it will be followed by others until, before we know what has hit us, virtually everything we eat will have been bombarded with radioactivity, consumer spokesmen warn.

It is, says Ingeborg Malz of the Consumer Protection Association in Wiesbaden, the back door through which radioactive bombardment of foodstuffs is to be let into the country.

The prospect that alarms her and her association once the process has gained general acceptance is clearly outlined in the headline of a leaflet issued by the association.

It is headlined *Endlagerstätte Mensch*, or Final Resting-Place Man, implying that at the end of the food cycle man will steadily be contaminated until we all set geiger counters ticking.

"Nothing is yet known that is any way reassuring about radioactive bombardment of foodstuffs and packaging and its chemical, microbiological and toxicological consequences for mankind," she says.

It is high time consumers stood up for their rights because: "it is a well-known fact that cancer occurs more frequently in cases where people are exposed to radiation over a period of years.

"There is no such thing as a threshold rating where the risk of cancer, leukaemia and genetic damage is concerned. Even the most minute dose kills cells and is a risk."

Werner Bögl, head of radioactive treatment at the Radiation Hygiene Institute, Munich, disagrees:

"There will never be 100-per-cent safety but I don't think radioactive treatment is dangerous."

His institute is a unit of the Federal Health Office and is carrying out a survey for the Bonn Health Ministry.

German scientists need not carry out many experiments of their own. They can rely on any amount of research into the subject by scientists in other countries.

Research in plenty has also been done by the World Health Organisation, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the UN Food and Agriculture Association.

The WHO has already given the go-ahead for unlimited gamma radiation of potatoes, wheat, flour, chickens, strawberries and papayas to make them keep longer.

For limited storage periods rice, fish and onions can also be preserved by radioactive bombardment, the UN organisation says.

So the Federal Health Office's survey is likely to reassure the politicians that there are no scientific objections to the procedure.

Thousands of scientific publications on the subject have been checked in Munich and the findings have been overwhelmingly in favour of the process.

"Five hundred publications were consulted and only one came up with findings indicating any possible unsatisfactory consequences of radioactive treatment," Herr Bögl says.

This is his professional opinion. Personally, in private life as it were, he would prefer not to see wholesale permission given to preserve all foodstuffs in this way.

If permission was granted it should be given on the merits of the individual case. Yet if he had to choose between the two he would prefer radiation to ethylene oxide any day.

This is a substance that is currently used to treat spices and keep them free from germs and micro-organisms. It has lately been criticised as a carcinogen.

The consumer association feels developments are a logical consequence of industrial society and is worried the trend will continue and the danger will increase.

"The more chemicals we use in treating nature and the environment, the more resistant to them insects, bacteria, germs and viruses become

"The more resistant they become, the higher the dose of radiation is that is neede to eradicate them again."

The association suspects industry, the authorities and politicians of being hand in glove and the nuclear lobby of being the string-puller.

"The nuclear lobby," a leaflet reads, "has finally hit on a bright idea of how to put radioactive waste to lucrative use."

Wolfgang Schichtel, manager of Gamma-Ster, a Dutch company based in Munich, dismisses such allegations as absolute rubbish.

His company is associated with an Austrian tyre manufacturer in building a radiation plant near Munich. "Four of them are already in operation in the Federal Republic of Germany," he says.

As yet the plant is only planned for use in sterilising medical equipment, such as surgeon's gloves, forceps, scalpels and syringes.

About 25 million surgeon's gloves a year are used in the country; 15 million of them are sterilised in this way.

The new works under construction near the Bavarian capital will not be using nuclear waste either. It will run on new fuel rods imported from Canada.

Yet it must be admitted that few changes would need to be made if the plant were to treat sardines, potatoes or cococoa instead of surgical gloves.

It would also be a money-spinner, Herr Schichtel readily agrees. But there is no way in which he sees it proving a danger to mankind.

Cobalt bombardment is used almost universally in hospitals nowadays, he says, and the process his company uses is exactly the same.

The trouble, as he sees it, is that the prejudice people have about radiation being dangerous is ineradicable.

His company has practical experience of what in Germany is still a theoretical possibility. It treats foodstuffs at a plant in Wageningen, Holland.

Radioactive bombardment of food is permitted in neighbouring Holland, as it is in 21 other countries, including the United States, Canada, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Denmark, France, Italy, Belgium and Spain.

Herr Schichtel is confident Bonn will give the go-ahead too, and not just for use with spices. The consumer association would be unable to prevent it; its leaflet was utter nonsense.

Gamma-Ster and the Consumer Protection Association have been in touch with each other. Günter Kurz of the consumer association says there was a phone call from Gamma-Ster's sales manager.

"First he offered us full information and confidential collaboration. Then, when we declined, he threatened to sue us for millions in damages."

But the association has no intention of being intimidated. "We just point out that we are a non-profit organisation and tell callers how much money we have in the bank," Herr Kurz says.

"Peace and quiet then reign, since a registered non-profit organisation's liability is limited to the amount of cash it has in hand."

An official decision on radioactive bombardment of foodstuffs is expected in Bonn before the end of the year.

But Fred Zander, parliamentary state secretary at the Health Ministry, told the Bundestag in January there would probably not be a wholesale go-ahead.

Permission in clearly specified instances would almost certainly be granted, he felt.

"The way the general public feel about the idea, that is about as far as we can go," says the Ministry's Lieselotte Gross. "It's a psychological problem."

Jürgen Diehl of the Federal Food Research Institute, Karlsruhe, is much more confident. "Sooner or later," he says, "radioactive bombardment will in all probability be introduced in this country too."

The Karlsruhe research institute has since 1970 been associated with an international project to check foodstuffs treated in this way.

The results, says Professor Diehl, are clear: "Radiation is harmless up to a certain level."

So the problem as he sees it is merely one of standardising legal practice in the Common Market countries.

Other EEC countries are not going to reimpose a ban on food that has been given radioactive treatment. France and Italy are not going to shut down plant that carries it out.

So Bonn will be left with no choice but to lift its ban.

Is food that has been bombarded with gamma rays already on sale in this country? This is a point on which the experts disagree.

Importing foodstuffs treated in this way is forbidden, just as treating them in Germany is. But there is no way of proving that imported food has been so treated.

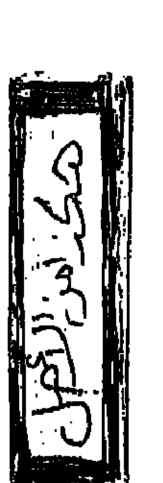
Werner Bögl does not believe it has been imported, however. "If it were, someone would be sure to find out in the long run."

Wolfgang Schichtel disagrees. "How can you possibly tell with potatoes, say?" he asks. "The potatoes may be processed into mash or dumplings

Continued on page 10



Radioactive sterilisation of surgical gloves and equipment in hospital. (Photo: Archiv)



■ LAW OF THE SEA

Vote at UN Law of the Sea conference ends debate but begs questions

Industrialised and developing countries were at loggerheads until the last at the final session of the Third UN Law of the Sea Conference in New York.

After nine years of talks, negotiations ended with a vote on the final draft, with 130 countries for, four against and 17 abstaining.

The United States, Israel, Turkey and Venezuela voted against the draft. Germany, Britain, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Spain and the entire East Bloc except Rumania abstained.

The only leading industrialised countries to vote alongside the Third World majority were Canada, France and Japan.

The vote was held at the behest of the United States. It ended negotiations on the draft convention. But it has nothing to do with ratification.

The convention is due to be signed in November in Caracas and will come into force once it is ratified by 61 countries, which should not take long.

So it seems likely to become international law before long, although not necessarily in every controversial detail. Disputes will be handled by the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

They will also be referred to the UN maritime affairs tribunal to be set up in Hamburg providing the Federal Republic of Germany ratifies the convention.



Delegations well appreciate that the tribunal will be called on to clarify and settle any number of disputes.

In the final stages of the marathon negotiations attention centred exclusively on seabed mining, with the United States making a last-ditch bid to gain support for a free market concept.

The American aim was to arrive at arrangements more in tune with the interests of industrialised countries with a stake in seabed mining.

But it encountered staff resistance by the developing countries and was only partly successful.

On several important aspects the United States, backed by Germany and a number of other industrialised countries, failed to wring further concessions from the Third World.

Mr Malone, the chief US delegate, said the improvements made were modest and not enough to dispel American reservations. He listed a number of points the United States found unacceptable.

They included the technology transfer commitment, the production limitations on free enterprise, the option of a review conference in 20 years that could by a majority decision drastically curtail the rights of private investors and the financing of liberation movements from the proceeds of seabed mining.

Ambassador Ernst E. Jung, Bonn's chief delegate in New York, said disappointment with the provisions on seabed mining were why the Federal Republic of Germany had abstained on the vote.

This did not necessarily mean, he added, that Bonn would not be signing the treaty or might not ratify it. These were decisions that would have to be reached back home after thorough consideration and taking other countries' views into account.

Other countries that made a point of saying that the way they had voted in no way prejudiced their decision on ratification of the convention included France, Japan and the Soviet Union.

The abstention by the Soviet-led East Bloc came as a surprise. The reason officially stated by the Soviet Union carried little conviction.

It was that Russia could not engage in seabed mining via a state corporation until the Soviet Union had ratified the convention, whereas private companies as members of a consortium could do so regardless whether the countries in which they were based had done so.

It was felt to be more likely that the Soviet Union did not want to commit itself until it knew how the United States and other industrialised countries were going to behave in future.

If the United States and others were to reach separate agreements on seabed mining beyond the scope of the UN conference Moscow was not going to abide by convention restrictions and financial obligations, Western delegates felt.

Countries with long coastlines will be the main beneficiaries of the UN convention, which consists of 320 articles, nine annexes and five resolutions.

Everyone else, including Germany with its short coast and limited coastal waters, stands to lose, with disadvantages clearly outweighing the advantages.

The major changes in relation to the old law of the sea are:

1. Territorial waters of coastal states can be extended from three to 12 miles. The right of innocent passage remains, with special provision being made to ensure passage through straits, of which more than 100 will be subject to international regulations.

In an adjacent zone of up to 24 miles the coastal state will be entitled to enforce its customs, fiscal, immigration and health regulations.

2. In a new economic zone extending to 200 miles out to sea the coastal state may lay claim to exclusive economic exploitation.

If the continental shelf extends further out the exclusive economic zone may extend to 350 miles.

These economic zones will include all the world's major fishing grounds and 85 per cent of known or suspected oil and natural gas reserves.

3. On the high seas beyond these zones the mining of manganese nodules on the seabed will be supervised by a new international seabed mining authority.

These seabed resources are declared, as a matter of principle, to be the common heritage of mankind. A parallel system of mining them is foreseen.

In the final stages of negotiations the industrialised countries, led by the United States, succeeded in gaining recognition of four consortiums as enjoying pioneer status.

These four consortiums consist of private companies based in the United States and other industrialised countries.

Pioneer status has also been granted to one corporation each in the Soviet Union, Japan, France and India. Each consortium will be allocated a mining sector of 150,000 square kilometres.

The seabed authority will run an enterprise of its own that will mine manganese nodules over a similar area. Pioneer consortiums and their countries of origin undertake to lend the enterprise financial and technical support.

Industrialised countries that still have reservations about the system of controls envisaged for seabed mining will have to decide whether to accept the convention as it now stands.

This they might be inclined to do because it at least establishes a legal framework for seabed mining that is acknowledged by a majority of countries.

Alternatively, they might decide to negotiate a more satisfactory arrangement among themselves. But its international acceptance would be doubtful.

A basis for arrangements outside the convention's scope already exists in a number of provisions made by national legislation.

It is as good as certain that other provisions of the convention, the ones that do not have anything to do with seabed mining, will for the most part become international law regardless whether or not the convention is ratified by a majority of industrialised countries.

Hans Jürgensen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 May 1982)

Reprieve for the whale

The Bonn Bundestag has unanimously agreed to sign the international agreement on whaling. It was reached in 1946 and 32 countries are now a party to it.

A majority of them no longer engage in whaling. Germany abandoned it during the Second World War.

Social Democrat Rudolf Müller told the Bundestag there was no longer a single whale product for which another commodity could not be used as a substitute.

dpa

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 3 May 1982)

Continued from page 9

by the one company and put into ready-to-serve meals by the next."

On one point at least the authorities and the consumer association are agreed. Foodstuffs or food of which part has been subjected to radiation must be marked and identified as such on the packaging.

The consumer association calls for an unmistakable black-and-yellow radioactive label to be printed on every pack.

Then, says Frau Gross of the Health Ministry, consumers can decide for themselves whether or not to buy it.

Hartmut Schergel

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 May 1982)

■ THE ARTS

Berlin Philharmonic looks back on a century of fine music

The Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra was launched a century ago after an industrial dispute in which 54 musicians walked out on a popular orchestra of the day in protest against low wages and poor working conditions.

They were also keen to maintain musical standards. Hans von Bülow, the Berlin Philharmonic's first chief conductor, once imperiously told his concert agent he had no intention of being a commodity.

Now, a century later, the Berlin Philharmonic headed by Austrian conductor Herbert von Karajan is a byword for both quality and commercial success with its wide range of activities.

Hans von Bülow was a reformer and an educator, a man who had Beethoven's Ninth played twice in one evening to enable the audience to understand it better.

Nowadays, with live orchestral performances merely spearheading a wide range of media activities, Bülow's aim of not becoming a commodity seems to run against the grain.

The orchestra's centenary *festschrift* is entitled Great German Conductors, and the Berlin Philharmonic has been managed by many: Hans von Bülow, Arthur Nikisch, Wilhelm Furtwängler and Herbert von Karajan.

Their ranks have been swelled by countless guest conductors ranging from Mahler to Stockhausen, from Klemperer to Ozawa and from Kleiber to Giulini and Abbado.

But the Berlin Philharmonic's centenary is also a tale of music history. In 1882 a group a young musicians refused to travel by fourth class railway carriage to Warsaw for a guest concert. They said the pay was too low.

They walked out on bandleader Benjamin Bilse and formed an orchestra of their own with the emphasis on quality rather than box office. It was renamed the Berlin Philharmonic several seasons later.

The 1887/88 season was its first full concert season under the new name with Bülow wielding the conductor's baton. It bagan with the obligatory repertoire of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.

Bülow told the orchestra they had a great future as a cooperative, unlike the conventional court orchestra, which was on the decline.

The Berlin Philharmonic has always been noted as a self-governing orchestra. To a certain extent it still runs its own affairs.

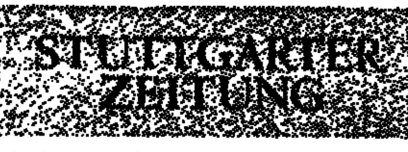
Members of the orchestra elect their permanent conductor and commercial manager. They have a say in the appointment of new musical staff and a say in artistic organisation.

Since 1952 the orchestra has been run as a municipal institution, but for nearly 40 years it had been run as a limited company with shares held by members of the orchestra.

As a cooperative venture it survived its most serious crisis in 1932, the orchestra's golden jubilee year.

Then came the Third Reich, during which it was subordinated to the Propaganda Ministry and ordered by Goebbels to play at the Nuremberg Nazi party rallies.

Music played was censored. The



Nazi regulation that only Aryans could hold public service jobs was disregarded to begin with after conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler had arranged for a special dispensation.

The first ban on a conductor was imposed on Bruno Walter on 20 March 1933. Four days earlier he had been banned from performing in Leipzig.

He emigrated that same evening, first to Austria. Richard Strauss took over as conductor and some of the audience returned their tickets in protest.

The Nazi era was a constant tightrope walk between protest and coming to terms. Furtwängler resigned in December 1934 over a clash in connection with Hindemith, but his passive resistance lasted a mere four months.

In 1932 he had conducted the first performance of Paul Hindemith's Philharmonic Concerto. He was not prepared to drop Hindemith from the repertoire without a fight.

But in the end he compromised with the Third Reich, and after the war he underwent denazification.

Internal damage was followed by external when in 1944 the Philharmonie, a converted roller skating rink, was bombed. Hans Scharoun's sensational new building was not opened until 1963.

At the war's end the running of the orchestra was placed in the hands of an inexperienced Sergiu Celibidache, who included in the repertoire Mendelssohn and the impressionists and the modern Russians and Americans.

In interpreting Beethoven he sought to depart from Furtwängler. Celibidache soon emerged as a favourite with the concert-going public but the orchestra found him an exacting taskmaster.

He left, with hard feelings on both sides, and Furtwängler returned as chief conductor. Herbert von Karajan clearly emerged as Furtwängler's successor during a tour to the United States in 1955.

Karajan had first been a resounding success with the Berlin Philharmonic in 1938. He has run the orchestra for the past 27 years.

Under Karajan the Philharmonic has developed from a purely concert orchestra into an increasingly symphonic performer of opera music.

It may not be staging first performances at its festival concerts, but that does not mean there will be nothing new.

New work has been commissioned for the centenary from Reimann and Schnittke, Rihm, Boulez and other contemporary composers.

Continuing the tradition of music by 20th century composers, this work will not be performed until next season. But contemporary music is only a small part of the repertoire.

Wolfgang Stresemann, the Philharmonic's former general manager, says contemporary music is not neglected entirely or as a matter of principle.

But the more complicated work requiring intensive rehearsals is left to radio orchestras. The Berlin Philharmonic is prepared to hold five or six rehearsals of a new item, but not 10 or 12.

The orchestra is so talented and experienced, however, that it can usually make do with fewer rehearsals than others.

Orchestral work alone is not enough. The musicians perform a wide range of chamber music extending from the renowned wind section and the humorous Twelve Cellists to the string quartet and the double-bass group.

Each testifies to the individual qualities that go to make up the overall blend that is the Berlin Philharmonic's hallmark.

To mark the centenary 88 LPs have been issued. They are 50 recordings in a Karajan edition, 33 recordings covering the history of the Berlin Philharmonic and another five LPs of miscellaneous music.

This selection must surely contain something to suit every taste. How lucky Berlin is to have such a fine orchestra!

Heinz-Harald Löhlein

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 30 April 1982)

Mind behind paperback encyclopaedia

Ernesto Grassi, the editor of *Rowohlts Deutsche Enzyklopädie*, the quality paperback non-fiction series, is 80.

Many help to determine the course of events and to influence history but few admit to having this aim in view. They include Grassi, the Milan-born Munich humanist.

"In the final analysis," he wrote many years ago, "everyone who has anything to say to his fellow-men, be he a scientist or an artist, is motivated by the same desire to be an organ of history.

"Basically we are doing nothing unusual in trying to serve this ambition with our encyclopaedia."

This is a reference to the paperback series to which he owes much of his reputation. He has edited the Rowohlt encyclopaedia since 1955.

In nearly 400 titles it has covered fields of knowledge old and new in reprints and specially commissioned work by outstanding authors, and has done so in a way that has been both hailed and criticised.

Critics have disputed the encyclopaedic nature of the range covered. It has been said to lack synthesis, unity and cohesion. Grassi takes this criticism seriously; he too feels the lack of a systematic approach to be profoundly unsatisfactory.

At the same time he says that any attempt to systematise knowledge would be bound, given the extent of knowledge today, to appear forced and arbitrary.

He has wondered to what extent individual items of knowledge could still be seen in a wider context or, in more general terms, "whether and to what extent education in the original sense of the terms is still possible."

As a Latin he has always been proficient at rhetoric, and his answer to this rhetorical question has been his Rowohlt encyclopaedia.



Ernesto Grassi

(Photo: Gerd Knobloch)

Dealing with individual problems, it has sought to demonstrate in an exemplary manner to people in search of knowledge the process of interpretation, recognition and explanation.

The reader himself was to put the pieces together. While other works with similar names and claims sought to do it for him, readers of Grassi's series were left to draw their own conclusions on overall relationships.

This concept testifies at one and the same time to both proximity and distance from Grassi's famous predecessors as encyclopaedists, Diderot and d'Alembert.

The parallel was drawn by Grassi himself, not only by his choice of title but also by coining the term "second Enlightenment" for a process that in the age of mass education was to be undertaken by means similar to those used by the first.

He attached crucial importance to the task of collecting and sorting material and was well aware that this was a far cry from the sense of reason-based revolution and euphoric confidence in progress with which the French encyclopaedists proclaimed what they held to be eternal truths.

His encyclopaedic bent was intended as a means of expression of rather than a cure for the crisis of civilisation he early diagnosed.

It seems to have more in common with late antiquity than with the Enlightenment, with an age in which independent compilers such as Pliny and Plutarch were followed by hard-working traditionalists such as Cassiodorus and Isidore, men who felt duty bound to defend the encyclopaedic knowledge of antiquity from the depredations of the barbarians who were redrawing the map of Europe.

They were not entirely unsuccessful, and the same can probably be said of Ernesto Grassi, a German-Italian author of a wide range of books, such as *Kunst und Mythos* (Art and Myth), *Reisen ohne anzukommen* (Travels That Get Nowhere) and *Macht der Phantasie* (Power of the Imagination).

He is a pupil of Nicolai Hartmann and Martin Heidegger who has always steered clear of thinking along fixed lines and a man whose intimate acquaintanceship with the theory of aesthetics has never hampered his passion for the real.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 April 1982)

The motley collection of dissimilar exhibits at the Villa Hügel in Essen leaves the visitor bewildered.

What does the contemplative Buddha head from 5th-century Northern India have in common with the barely 100-year-old raven mask of a Kwakiutl Indian from America's west coast?

And what link is there between the small and chubby Persian bronze cat of the 12th century and the clay jaguar deity made by a Peruvian artist around 100 AD?

And what is the connection between the extremely finely worked lacquer carvings on 16th and 18th century Chinese boxes and the long-nosed ancestral figures from New Guinea?

They are all items from the Linden Ethnological Museum, Stuttgart, and "show the manifold range of things man's artistry can create," says Stuttgart museum director Friedrich Kussmaul.

But this is an extremely general way of establishing a common denominator that will encompass what Kussmaul calls an unbelievable contrast programme.

The exhibition comprises 493 objects from the Linden Museum of which 311 have never before been on public show because they were only acquired in the past 10 or 15 yers.

This is also the first time that the museum is putting its newly-established Orient, South Asia and East Asia departments on display.

It had to be done outside Stuttgart because the Linden Museum is closed and will not reopen until 1984 at the earliest for its centenary.

The theme of the show in Essen is Distant Peoples, Early Days.

Treasures from distant parts are highlighted by gentle spotlights that have the disadvantage of casting the viewer's shadow onto the exhibits in certain positions.

The oldest item is a Persian clay beaker dating back to about 4000 BC. The most recent items are four Japanese coloured woodcarvings made in 1962.

Perhaps the Linden Museum wanted to raise the question where the line defining the province of ethnology is to be drawn.

The first thing to strike the visitor is detail. There is a bull with its head turned backward, an almost grotesque abstraction made in Persia around 1000 BC with a spout between the massive horns. The bull is a sort of pitcher with a bold balance between curves and angles.

A squared lion's head turns out to be the end piece of a water pipeline (Afghanistan 12th century AD). The pipeline itself is the extruded body of the lion, ending with the forepaws.

A Khmer female torso dating back to the 10th century AD commits the human figure into the severity of a block of stone.

The elephant-headed Indian deity Ganesha has four arms in some exhibits and six in others: a sybaritic pachyderm whose many limbs tend to dissolve the shape.

A statuette from Zaire is in fact the handle of a ceremonial axe. The blade is a monstrous steel tongue protruding from the statuette's mouth.

Fetish figures from the Congo region have their heads adorned with feathers and are spiked with nails, relics of sacrificial rituals.

A vessel stemming from the Peruvian Nazca civilisation (8th/9th century AD) has a girdle of delicately painted faces. Their large almond-shaped eyes suggest watchful alertness in all directions.

The exhibition lays claim to presenting the art of distant peoples even if this art consists of utilitarian objects.

■ MANKIND

Treasure trove of ethnology on show in Essen

One of the rare exceptions is the dress of the Mandan Indian chief Mato-Tope (around 1830) consisting of feather head-dress, a necklace of grizzly bear claws, moccasins and a pipe.

Here, the culture of everyday life can be sensed even though the owner of the dress was a member of the ruling class.

The exhibition comes closest to presenting a cohesive culture in its South Seas hall.

Here the organisers were able to concentrate on a few narrowly defined and productive regions without, as in the case of Asia and Peru, having to take into account a long phase of historic development: the Sepic region of New Guinea; New Ireland and New Britain.

The dramatic effects of the starkly coloured statues, masks and exaggerated skulls promote this overall impression.

There is no more poignant way of experiencing the fascination emanating from the death cult than when confronted with the New Ireland ship of the dead.

The islanders headed for the other world look straight ahead. The sides of the canoe are decorated with flying birds as an escort for the journeying dead.

In the Asian department in particular, the visitor is hard put to establish a link between the individual items.

There are no proper explanations of the differences in terms of region and period between Buddhas from India, Thailand, Java and Tibet.

There are no enlightening words on specific postures, facial expressions, gestures and styles as related to changes in the interpretation of religion.

The masterly pottery items from old Peru relate only to themselves; yet the pieces from the region around the Moche River vividly depict the life of that time.

It would have been up to the organisers to provide the necessary information other than the hard to decipher cards on the cultural background of the individual items.

They are amazingly heedless of the need to educate the lay visitor.

The catalogue, published by Aurel Bongers Verlag in two volumes and costing DM38, has been splendidly put together by the Stuttgart custodians of the individual departments.

It provides a fine grounding in cultural history of regions, depicting the individual items as examples of overall development.

But this type of exhibition should be informative even for visitors who cannot afford the catalogue but would like to study cultural backgrounds without depending on tape recorders as guides.

Many a context could be made obvious by individual exhibits, such as the exciting mutual influence in ceramics between the 9th and the 15th centuries when the Persians tried to imitate Chinese porcelain and came up with faience and the typical blue-white earthenware.

The technique was subsequently adopted by the Chinese, improved and re-exported to Persia. This explains the Chinese motifs (ribbons of clouds, dragons and peonies) in Iranian pottery.

There is a difference between a dancing Shiva and a Cameroon mask; there is a difference between the technically highly perfected examples of Buddhist bronze sculptures and Islamic tiles. The difference can only be explained in the light of the refined needs of courtly civilisation in the one case and popular religious needs in the other.

The exhibitors have not taken advantage of the possibility of linking civilisations although the wide range of items should have tempted them to do exactly that. They fail to show the interplay between cult and culture.

They do not explain that it is the function of Indian deity depictions to "show the superhuman power, beauty and perfection of the gods" in contrast to the depictions of ancestors and demons from Africa and Oceania whose function it is to mollify the spirits and help the people. Such information should not be restricted to the catalogue.

Unlike major ethnological exhibitions on the past, the Essen show does not restrict itself to a particular region but shows examples of world art from many parts.

Despite all efforts to select and arrange items cohesively, the exhibition is no more than a collection of beautiful objects for art lovers; but as such it is well worth seeing.

Rainer Hartmann
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 May 1982)

Non-fiction bestseller

Rudolf Pörtner, Germany's most successful non-fiction writer, is 70. The man who popularised German history and the latest findings of archaeology in the New and Old worlds leads an unassuming life in Bad Godesberg, Bonn. He sees himself as the German man-in-the-street par excellence.

Not only have his works aroused the curiosity of his fellow citizens about their own past; they have done so in a manner everybody can understand.

As Professor Hugo Borger, director of the Roman-Germanic Museum in Cologne, once put it: "He has created a favourable climate for archaeology in the consciousness of the public and through his books has greatly enhanced the position of archaeology in Germany."

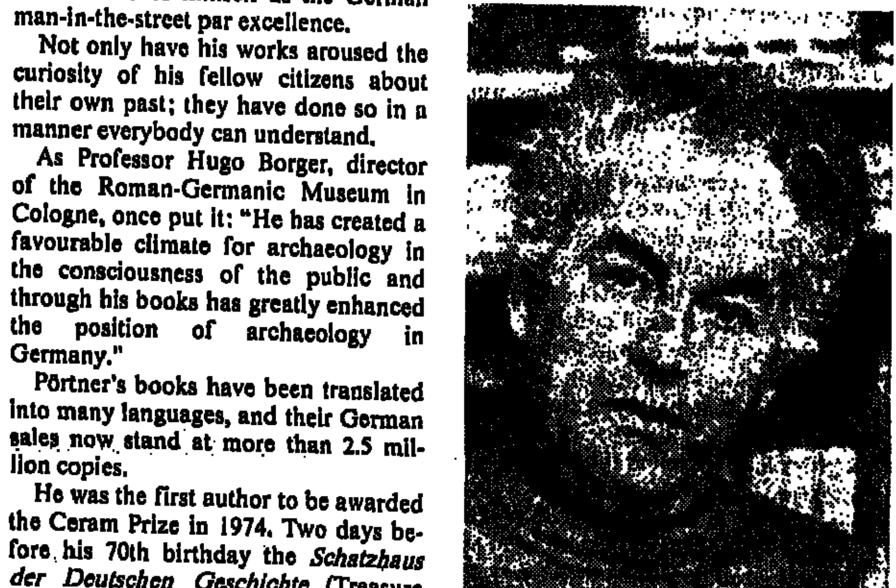
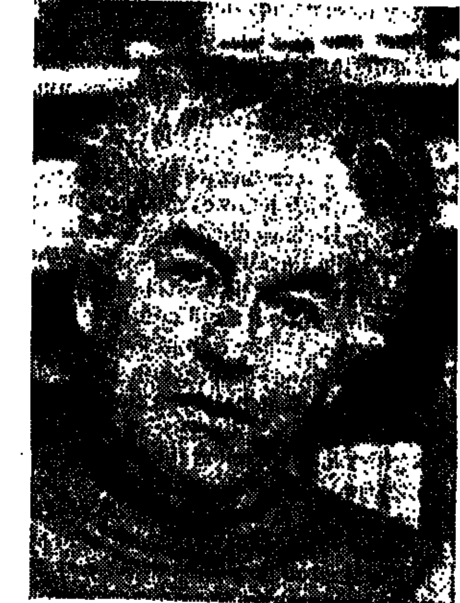
Pörtner's books have been translated into many languages, and their German sales now stand at more than 2.5 million copies.

He was the first author to be awarded the Ceram Prize in 1974. Two days before his 70th birthday the *Schatzhaus der Deutschen Geschichte* (Treasure House of German History), compiled and edited by him, was published.

Pörtner, father of two and fourfold grandfather, developed a new method of presenting history at a time when nobody in Germany was truly interested in the subject.

His books do not report on the deeds of heroes but deal with the day-to-day life of the people, deliberately building a bridge between the past and the present. This has made his books socially relevant and readable for today's public.

His best-known book that made him a bestseller author is *Mit dem Fahrstuhl in die Römerzeit* (By Elevator to the Days of the Romans), published in 1959.

Rudolf Pörtner

(Photo: Econ-Verlag)

Before becoming a journalist in his home town Bad Oeynhausen, then in Berlin, Herford and Bonn, Pörtner studied ancient and modern history in Marburg, Berlin and Leipzig.

His keen interest in archaeology and ancient history had to be shelved while he dealt with day-to-day events.

It was by accident that this interest was rekindled at the age of 46 when a publisher encouraged him to dig into the past.

It took him 13 months to write *Mit dem Fahrstuhl in die Römerzeit*, the book that marked the beginning of a new career.

This was followed by *Die Erben Roms* (The Heirs of Rome), *Bevor die Römer kamen* (Before the Romans Came), *Das Römerreich der Deutschen* (The Germans' Roman Empire), *Alte Kulturen ans Licht gebracht* (Old Cultures Unearthed), *Operation Heiliges Grab* (Operation Holy Sepulchre), *Alte Kulturen der neuen Welt* (The New World's Old Cultures) and *Das Schatzhaus der Deutschen Geschichte*, a comprehensive depiction of the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg.

He has for some time been working on a supplementary volume to his book on the Crusades, to the published by Econ Verlag like all his other books.

Rudolf Pörtner has adopted the motto of the doyen of British archaeologists, Mortimer Wheeler: "The archaeologist does not dig for things but for people."

He sees history as "a very normal story dealing with the everyday life of people," as Hugo Borger put it in a review.

Archaeological work does not restrict itself to cataloguing. This is only the beginning. The ultimate aim is to shed light on the past with man as its hub.

His 70th birthday is a working day like any other for Pörtner, a day that brings him closer to completing his task of building a bridge between the man of today and his historic past.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 30 April 1982)

■ EDUCATION

What it takes to make Germans diplomats

Diplomacy is the world's second-oldest profession. It, too, has a bad reputation, said Sir Frank Roberts many years ago when he was British ambassador to Bonn.

It is the reputation of German diplomacy that worries Karl Münch, head of Bonn's Foreign Service Academy, who holds ambassadorial rank.

The 37th class began its two-year training course in early April. It consists of 30 attachés-to-be who passed the strict admission tests.

The 30 young men and women are this year's pick of a crop of several thousand applicants of whom 300 were asked to take the tests.

The latest series of tests provided telling proof of the declining educational standards even among university graduates. Many applicants failed the German essay.

In the essay, which marks the beginning of a diplomatic career, the candidate is expected to provide a reasonably well-structured presentation of views in intelligible German on a general subject. The results were fairly mediocre, says Herr Münch.

These educational shortcomings have thus become a bugbear for the Foreign Office.

Says Karl Münch: "You can see that German schools no longer cultivate the art of essay writing. You can also see that many people lack intellectual discipline today. This has proved a stumbling block for many foreign service applicants."

The basic assumption is that any candidate must be in a position to comment on current topics within an hour.

A sampling of the subjects: Nine Months of the Reagan Administration: An Interim Balance Sheet; Assume that the Federal Republic of Germany Could Ensure Long-Term Oil Supplies by Selling Arms to Arab States. Comment.

Naturally, the Foreign Office insists that all candidates have an excellent command of English and French.

Amazingly, however, there is a growing number of applicants with outstanding command of "difficult" languages. The 37th class, for instance, has three people with an exceptional knowledge of Chinese and one who is fluent in seven Slavic languages.

Unlike in the 1950s, people with law degrees no longer have a virtual monopoly. Only 13 of the 30 trainees have a law background.

The others include a mathematician, a physicist, two psychologists, political scientists, economists and management graduates.

The number of language graduates shows a marked increase. They are people who seek a position in the foreign service because there are no openings in teaching.

They usually do better in exams where subjects of general knowledge and languages are concerned. This also gives them a good chance of passing exams on international law and economics.

Karl Münch is delighted to report that the average age of the applicants has gone down. For the 37th class it is 28.5 years.

This means that most participants in this class will be just over 30 when they take up their posts abroad. The youngest is a 25-year-old woman historian with excellent university grades.

But knowledge alone is not the be-all and end-all. Every candidate had to undergo psychological tests to determine suitability for service abroad.

Comments Münch: "What we need is not brilliant law students who might be very scholarly but only come awake once legal questions are involved."

What the Foreign Office needs are diplomats capable of establishing human contacts; they must be capable of cooperating and taking stress and strain; and they must have initiative.

The reasons are obvious. Most young diplomats will be posted in the Third World and must not throw in the towel as soon as the going becomes difficult.

As a result, the Bonn academy turned down a highly educated young woman who clammed up during interviews.

The decision on the human qualities of future diplomats is made by a team of psychologists who have been working for the Foreign Office for years. They have kept the quota of dropouts to almost zero.

The testers and psychologists place particular emphasis on the motivation for a post in the foreign service.

The Foreign Office is flooded with random applications made by people who think all that is needed to enjoy the privileges and status of a diplomat is to know how to gracefully balance a cocktail and a canapé.

So instructors make a point of stressing the strains that go with a diplomatic career, pointing to the fact that two-thirds of the posts are in the developing countries.

There, living conditions have become increasingly difficult due to civil war, terrorism, putsches, galloping crime rates and inadequate medical care.

Incidentally, all knowledge and motivation is of little use if the candidate is not physically capable of coping with tropical conditions.

Such people, and they include those suffering from minor chronic ailments, stand no chance at all.

The fact that it is no longer the elite that applies for a foreign service career has its reasons. Young, talented people out for a bit of adventure can find more interesting and higher paid work abroad in industry or one of the development corporations.

The number of women seeking a foreign service career is still small, mostly due to the wish to have a family. The Foreign Office welcomes an early decision because the training of a diplomat costs at least DM70,000 to DM80,000.

The two-year grind at the academy begins with intensive studies in such basic fields as history, political science, economics and international law.

In addition, there are intensive language courses in English and French.

In the second year, the young would-be attachés serve in various departments of the Foreign Office.

Stays at embassies abroad were discontinued after the training period was shortened from three years to two.

Evi Keil
(Die Welt, 28 April 1982)

Fewer jobs for graduates

Employers' leader Otto Esser has told university rectors the business community could not provide enough jobs for graduates.

This was assuming the number of university graduates doubled and the civil service halved the number of its openings.

He has thus drawn attention to a problem that has been ignored by the public, except for the growing unemployment among teachers: that of graduate unemployment.

Government personnel cutbacks and the freeze on promotions coupled with the recession have drastically reduced job prospects for university graduates.

An analysis by the Rhineland-Westphalia Institute for Economic Research, Essen, says graduates cannot continue to expect in the future the same income and status prospects that exist today.

The present ratio of educational investment and the resulting earnings cannot even be ensured for the next decade.

This has made the theory developed in the 1960s by the American economist E.F. Denison in his book "Human Capital Hypothesis" questionable.

According to Denison, the efficiency of a nation's economy rises in direct relation to the ratio of university graduates within the working population. Investment in education pays.

Instead private enterprise and the civil service appear to have filled their need for university graduates.

Statistics show that the ratio of graduates in private enterprise rose from only 5.8 to 6.6 per cent between 1970 and 1976 despite the dramatic increase in the number of students.

In the civil service, cash problems have greatly curtailed the employment of academics.

The 20,000 posts for judges, public prosecutors and other jurists are now occupied for years, if not decades ahead, as a result of the drastic staff rejuvenation in the past few years.

Some 5,000 sociologists, economists and political scientists in this country are already on the dole.

The legal profession is most indicative of the trend. There are now more than 100,000 fully trained jurists in this country, and more than 80,000 young Germans are studying law.

The day is nearing when we will have more law students than jurists. And this means that there will be no jobs for new graduates.

Peter Philipps
(Die Welt, 28 April 1982)

Fulbright scholars

The German Fulbright Commission has made about 130 scholarship awards for university students and graduates to study in the United States in the 1983/84 academic year.

The scholarships cover the cost of travel and maintenance but the recipient has to provide DM6,000 out of his own pocket.

Applicants must have completed the fourth semester before leaving for the United States.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 April 1982)

■ MEDICINE

Germany's first test-tube baby born in Erlangen

West Germany's first test-tube baby was born at Erlangen University Hospital as some 150 reporters, photographers and cameramen tried to break the news blackout imposed by the hospital.

Little Oliver weighed in at 4,150 grammes and measured 53 centimetres top to toe when his mother, a 30-year-old woman from Upper Franconia, gave birth on 16 April.

It was not until a few days after the event that the hospital's medical director, Professor Karl Günther Ober, and the doctor in charge, Professor Siegfried Trotnow, lifted the news blackout and gave a press conference.

The delivery was by Caesarean section. Said Professor Ober: "If properly done, this type of delivery imposes the least strain on the child."

The doctors opted for this method of delivery because the baby was exceptionally large and they wanted to eliminate any possible risk to the infant.

Commented Professor Ober: "If the child had sustained any damage it could easily have been construed as beig due to the method of conception."

Meanwhile, the hospital is continuing its series of experiments with "extra-corporeal" insemination.

Five test-tube pregnancies have so far been induced at the Erlangen Hospital. Two patients are now in the 25th and 30th weeks of pregnancy. One woman had a miscarriage and Professor Trotnow refused to comment on the fifth pregnancy, saying it was still too early.

Professor Ober stressed that the miscarriage was within the framework of statistical averages, and that a subsequent autopsy showed malformations in the embryo.

Two women had had two embryos implanted; but this does not mean that they will give birth to twins. One of them accepted only one fertilised ovum and in the other case one embryo displaced the other.

Artificial insemination is of use primarily to women who have no fallopian tubes or whose fallopian tubes are blocked. Even surgery can remedy these conditions only in one case in three.

The Erlangen team used one of these unpromising operations to suck off ripe ova and inseminate them with one million units of the husband's semen.

The Erlangen doctors are now working on methods that would provide help in cases where the husband's semen production is insufficient to bring about a pregnancy.

Ova capable of insemination have been removed from some 40 women. The operation is done under full anaesthetic, and the correct timing is established by measuring the blood hormone level.

The Erlangen team has succeeded in reducing the time this takes from 18 to 2 hours.

Another method is to bring about the correct hormone level in the blood artificially through hormone injections.

The ripening ovum is also kept under ultrasonic observation because its size is an indicator of the degree of ripeness.

In 18 cases, 4- or 8-cell embryos were transferred to the womb after 10 hours. They subsequently developed into the five test-tube pregnancies.

Professor Ober told the press that all fertilised human ova were returned to the uterus. He thus rebutted accusations of commiting human life to the dustbin in the course of experiments.

He said that 70 per cent of embryos were lost in the first 10 days of any normal pregnancy.

He also countered the contention that his method was a step towards the cloning of human beings or gestation in the body of a rented mother.

Said he: "This is a pretty foolish contention because it is much simpler and cheaper to obtain embryos by sucking them out of the uterus."

Though the present success quota is only 10 per cent, "such failure rates are normal in medicine."

He pointed out that many of today's routine operations entailed a high mortality rate at the time they were being developed.

Erlangen Hospital now has on its waiting list 560 couples, of whom 90 per cent can be helped. The number of sterile couples in Germany is estimated at 100,000.

To continue his work, Professor Trotnow needs above all more staff. "We have the know-how, so the rest is purely a logistical problem," says he.

He hopes the Erlangen experiments will provide new insights into the mechanics and course of pregnancy.

There are some 20 test-tube babies world-wide, and most of them owe their lives to research groups in London and Melbourne, who serve as a model for the Erlangen team. German research is also going on in Lübeck and Kiel.

Incidentally, little Oliver can look to a financially secure future. An illustrated magazine has not denied having paid a six-figure amount for the exclusive story.

Reporters of the magazine were present at the delivery as was a film team of a major German television network. All other newsmen were barred under the news blackout provisions.

By making this exception, which was criticised at the press conference, Professor Ober flouted the regulations of the Bavarian Education Ministry, within whose jurisdiction he falls, whereby journalists must be treated without favour.

Germany's largest-circulation daily, the first newspaper to publish a photograph of Oliver, also made a mistake when it turned out that the picture was that of another new-born baby.

Dieter Schwab

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 April 1982)

Women a higher health risk

Women in West Germany use twice as many drugs as men, according to statistics compiled by the Association of Private Health Insurers.

Women aged between 30 and 35 bought drugs worth an average of DM200 in 1980, while men in the same age group spent only DM100.

The 80- to 110-per-cent higher drug consumption of women remains almost constant up to the age of 40 and does not level off with that of men until the age of 65.

But by that time per person drug costs for both sexes rise to about DM600 a year.

There are also conspicuous differences regarding the cost of medical treatment (excluding dental work).

Here, the women's expenses are up to 125 per cent higher than those of men, depending on age.

But here, too, women and men draw level by the time they reach 65. After that, women tend to cost the insurers less than men.

Such statistics are compulsory under the provisions of the Supervisory Authority for the Insurance Trade, an agency of the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry.

The statistics serve as a basis in calculating insurance premiums. And since the insurers must charge premiums that are in keeping with the risk, women up to retirement age pay more than men. Thereafter their premiums lag somewhat behind those of men.

This has led to heated political debates and has come under attack by feminist movements on grounds of being clearly discriminatory.

The women's affairs commissioner of the Bonn government, Ellen Wolf, has now launched a constitutional investigation on the ground that the practice could be unconstitutional.

The question she poses is whether society's "total birth risk" should be carried on the backs of women alone simply because of the added medical costs due to their reproductive organs and pregnancy.

The insurers stress that their premiums that have been approved by the supervisory authority and do not reflect social or family affairs policy.

As they see it, neither the cost of drugs nor that of medical care is solely due to pregnancy and related expenses.

Pregnant women have to cut back on drug consumption anyway. Moreover, frequent visits to the doctor up to a fairly high age rule out such a context.

Fred Zander, parliamentary state secretary at the Bonn Health Ministry, recently raised the possibility that women might be more prone to illness than men.

According to the Federal Statistics Office, the incidence of illness among men is generally lower than among women.

Taking a population cross section of 10,000, statistics show an annual illness rate of 1,296 for men and 1,650 for women.

Zander named a numer of ailments that are more prevalent among women than among men, among them diabetes, influenza and rheumatism.

Professor Manfred Steinbach of the Bonn Health Ministry has come up with the following reasons. Apart from higher life expectancy, women also figure more prominently in health statistics due to their "constitutionally and genetically greater vulnerability."

As a "hypothesis that has not yet been fully substantiated," Professor Steinbach also says that the women's double burden of housewife and earner plays a role here.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 April 1982)

Intensive care: is it humane?

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

A young woman has to have her ovaries removed due to cancer. During the operation, the surgeon finds that cancer has spread to the intestines, the uterus and the whole abdomen.

It is a terminal case. Yet the surgeon carries on, removing almost all abdominal organs.

The woman is taken to the intensive care unit and operated on again and again. This causes intolerable pain and anguish. In the end, the inevitable happens and she dies.

It is eight weeks later than she would have died without this useless surgery. There was no way of halting death; it could only be postponed for eight agonising weeks.

Another patient receives intensive care, complete with artificial respiration and a dialysis machine to take over kidney functions.

In the end, a neurologist finds that the patient has in fact been dead for several days.

The machines are switched off and an autopsy shows brain disintegration. There was no human life left and none was possible in the circumstances.

The two scenarios are actual case histories that are representative of developments in today's medicine: technology is gaining the upper hand over humanity.

Doctors and patients have been suffering from this situation for some time. In fact, the problem has plagued the medical profession for decades.

But with the dramatic development of medical technology the predominant attitude until recently was look at our achievements and let's use all this technology for the good of humanity and the greater glory of medicine.

Warning voices were disregarded. But now medical congresses, like one held in Munich recently and attended by 3,000 surgeons, frequently deal with the conflict between technology and humanity, lending the issue official status, so to speak.

Leading doctors have joined the ranks of the warners. And what has hitherto been rarely put into clear terms is increasingly becoming the dominant medical theory.

Medical technology must not be permitted to become an end in itself. We must recognise the limits of its usefulness and clearly understand that the good of humanity includes respect for death.

But all this can only become effective if everybody thinks in the same categories. Doctors are under pressure to meet expectations. They have become used to people expecting too much from medicine.

Suppressed fear of death has led to this abominable technical treatment of the dying.

Doctors must neither be put in the dock nor must they be overtaxed. We must simply come to realise that no man is a demi-god who stands above death and illness.

Man must realise that there are limits to knowledge. But this is more easily said than done.

Siegfried v. Kortzfleisch

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 25 April 1982)

■ MODERN LIVING

Munich marriage bureau videotapes clients to help them find the right match

A marriage bureau in Oberföhring, a high-class residential suburb of Munich, claims to be the first in Germany to videotape its clients.

The bureau, set up just over a year ago by Benno Dovermann, 33, is called Happy End. The name may be conventional, to put it mildly, but the methods aren't.

Dovermann is a Munich hifi and video dealer who had the idea of setting up a marriage bureau when his mother-in-law, who was on the lookout for a new husband, complained about the trade.

Marriage bureaus, she said, charged the earth and did very little towards delivering the goods.

Dovermann himself is happily married and convinced sympathy not cash is what matters. So he set out to devise an alternative to the usual questionnaires.

Marriage bureaus normally ask clients to fill in forms stating their height, colour of eyes, bank accounts and how much property they stand to inherit.

Suddenly, in his video shop, he realised what the alternative was and convinced not only his wife ("at first she thought I had gone out of my mind") but also a bank that the idea was a commercial proposition.

Then he and his partner Peter Ullmann, 35, set up their marriage bureau as a limited company. It is housed in an opulent house and garden that exude their optimism.

The furniture arrangements, in leather and rattan, were made by a well-known interior decorator. Modern art lines the walls and tape cassettes full of lonely hearts are stored in a tastefully designed rustic-look cupboard.

The impression conveyed is neither cosiness nor kitsch. It looks more like an executive suite at BMW, the up-market Munich motor manufacturers.

Clients are shown video cassettes of partners who might suit them in individual compartments upstairs. Up another flight of stairs there is a bar where they can take it easy from the exhausting business of partner selection.

The ground floor houses the film studio. The video equipment cost DM50,000. The upholstered set uses lighting arranged by a specialist from a TV studio.

The client on the screen says what he or she has to say against a tasteful background of modern art wall hangings.

Other marriage bureaus in Germany and Switzerland tape what is little more than a TV commercial lasting four minutes at most.

Happy End video tapes run half an hour. They record conversations between Dovermann or one of his three members of staff with the client.

The subjects covered in conversation are limitless in range. Love naturally occurs, but so do ideals, hobbies and, almost an aside, what to expect of the right partner.

Questions are not dealt with in advance but agreement is reached beforehand on topics that are to be taboo in the interview, just as the interviewer has a set of standard queries at the ready.

There are no camera experiments. All shots are taken from the same angle, but a zoom lens is used from time to time to ring the changes with a few close-ups.

The results are surprising. After a few minutes the clients forget all about their stage fright. They are no longer constantly reminded of this being the interview that might really matter in their lives.

They forget that in effect they are producing their own publicity show, and since no-one can keep up a lie for half an hour they tell the truth about themselves.

"We can't see inside everyone's heart," says Dovermann, "but everyone bares part of his or her soul during the interview."

Nearly everyone is accepted as a client. There are no pretensions to arranging matches between the well-to-do and no handles to the company's name suggesting that, say, only graduates are catered for.

Happy End is not just for the up-market category and age doesn't matter either. The youngest woman in the books is 21 and was sent to the agency by her grandma, the oldest is 64.

The sexes are equally represented and nearly all clients report unsatisfactory experiences with conventional marriage bureaus.

Handicapped clients are welcome. There are no extra charges for difficult cases such as others make. The only clients Happy End doesn't accept are homosexuals.

Benno Dovermann is fond of comparing his bureau with clear spring water and feels it is extremely important to run a serious agency in a trade that is infamous for black sheep.

He has an aversion to marriage bureaus that run special offers, sales and events. They are like supermarkets, he says with distaste.

Unlike others in the trade, who are most reluctant to lay their cards on the table and talk in terms of the need for discretion, Dovermann readily says how much he charges.

A Happy End video session costs DM1,750, including value-added tax. The charge entitles the client to a film of his own and a look at 20 cassettes a year of suitable partners.

He can make his own choice from a card index complete with photos of potential opposite numbers.

His own film is shown to others too, which increases the number of potential matches since others he might not choose could be interested in him.

"We have no white elephants," Dovermann says. There are no extra charges, so the service costs, as he puts it, less than the price of a holiday.

It is much less than other Munich marriage bureaus charge, which is usually about DM3,000 down and another DM3,000 if a match is made.

Happy End is a success because it definitely provides a service in an up-to-date manner. It is so up-to-the-minute that there are two film comedies about video marriage bureaus running at German cinemas at present.

One is Peter Hajek's *Sei zärtlich, Pinguin* (Be Tender, Penguin), in which the bureau is simply called Lonely Hearts, whereas the bureau run by Swiss comedian Emil Steinberger in *Video-Liebe* (Video Love) is called Duogena.

In both films the action is much more turbulent than in real life, and in real life few could rival Viennese singer André Heller as a client.

At Happy End in Munich the management are worried the films might generate more prejudice than is good for business, but they welcome the free publicity and are happy to see that film-makers have been quicker to take up the idea than competitors in the marriage bureau market.

Rosemarie Bus

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 23 April 1982)

Women better smugglers

Women are better smugglers than men, say German customs officers in Saarbrücken. Nearly 75 per cent of goods confiscated are taken from men.

Last year 124,000 smugglers were caught at the border by customs officers and the border patrol. Goods worth over DM58m were confiscated.

Most were amateurs caught trying to smuggle alcohol and tobacco, coffee, tea or diesel oil, and nearly 75 per cent of contraband was confiscated from men.

This does not mean men do more smuggling than women, merely that women are more successful, at least among the amateurs.

Men are caught twice as often. They betray themselves by being either over-nervous or over-friendly.

Customs officers in the Saar are experienced in dealing with small fry. Many houses there are in Germany, while their front or back gardens are in France.

They say women are the better smugglers because they have no qualms about it. Women feel it makes perfect sense to bring back goods from abroad that cost less there.

So they answer customs officers' questions with self-assurance and stand much less chance of being caught than nervous men.

Men do less small-time smuggling than women but invariably have an uneasy conscience. They are nervous and sweat or try to offset their anxiety by being over-friendly.

Their usual ploy is to try and distract customs officers' attention by a joke or a word among men, followed by roars of laughter.

Customs officers are quick to sense this approach and promptly single out this category for a closer baggage check or wave their cars to one side for more thorough examination.

But men once caught are fair losers. They nearly always pay up without complaining, whereas women seem to feel insulted at having been caught.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 April 1982)

More single parents

Last year there were 905,000 single parents of children under 18 in the Federal Republic of Germany, says the Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden.

Single parenthood was due in 244,000 cases to being widowed, in 545,000 cases to divorce or separation; 116,000 single parents were not married.

The number of men who bring up children singlehandedly increased from 88,000 in 1972 to 141,000, of whom 103,000 look after one child, 28,000 for two and 10,000 for three or more.

Over this period the number of singlehanded mothers increased from 618,000 to 764,000, 497,000 of whom look after only one child.

But 196,000 look after two and 71,000 look after three or more children.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 17 April 1982)

Video games under fire

Millions of Germans a day use the 433,000 licensed slot machines in bars and amusement arcades, such as pinball machines, juke boxes and one-armed bandits.

Video war games are the latest craze. There are 75,000 coin-operated video game machines in the Federal Republic of Germany, but they may not be in use much longer.

Local authority youth departments and the Bonn government agency that monitors publications likely to pervert young people are gunning for them.

In Neuss, near Düsseldorf, the youth department has applied for a ban on 101 video game machines as being harmful to young people.

Its counterparts in Bonn, Gelsenkirchen and Wuppertal applied at the end of last year for a ban on the video games Scramble, Astro Fighter and Battle Zone.

They tended to make children and young people develop a coarse and unfeeling attitude toward life, the youth departments argued.

These ban bids, backed by research work at the Bonn Family and Youth Affairs Ministry, are an attempt by the authorities to plug a loophole in the law.

The various regulations issued to protect young people in public deal with alcohol and cigarettes, with prostitution and pornography, but not yet with slot machines.

Views differ on whether this is a gap that ought to be plugged. Experts disagree on whether video war games really do have a harmful effect on juveniles.

A criminologist commissioned by the slot machine trade has testified to the Bonn authorities that they do not, but this is hardly surprising. A psychologist commissioned by Bonn disagreed.

As a result, the Bonn agency has commissioned a further report from a psychology professor.

Since the New Year the slot machine trade has run a voluntary censorship scheme backed by manufacturers, dealers and operators.

It has met in Hamburg and checked 31 video games. So there seems sure to be a tussle between youth authorities and the trade.

Rüdiger Matt

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 28 April 1982)